

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Friday, the 6th March 1925.

The House met at 11 o'clock, Mr. President (the hon. Diwan Bahadur L. D. SWAMIRANNU PILLAI Avargal, C.I.E., I.S.O.) in the chair.

I

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET.

An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"Mr. President, Sir, this is the second year during which I have the honour to take part in this general discussion on the budget. Last year I complained that these three days were merely wasted out of the time of the hon. Members of this Council. My reason was that we had no opportunity of implementing our speeches by votes, effective or ineffective. I made the suggestion and I repeat it now that every side of the House should make up its mind to represent to those with whom the matter lies that these three days might well be utilized for the purpose of allotting more time for voting on the grants themselves. We are making speeches here. At least last year, I remember, Sir, we had the pleasure of seeing the Treasury Bench full, practically all the time taking notes of the speeches and at the last day showing us the courtesy of replying when their turn came. But this year I find for the last two days—I do not know what pressing State business they had—the Treasury Bench has been more often empty than full. And I think that shows us what exactly the Treasury Bench thinks of these speeches. I am glad of that confirmation of the waste of time which the Council indulges in these three days. But since custom is tyrannical, let me add my quota of grievances and demands, fully knowing that they will fall on deaf ears.

"Sir, I am sorry the hon. the Finance Member is not here. If he were, I wanted to make a complaint that the budget speech may as well be not delivered, if it was going to be of the type we had this year, namely, a mere correlation of figures which we can make for ourselves. May I suggest to the Finance Department that if they must make these budget speeches they may read some of the speeches of the distinguished Chancellors of the Exchequer of the British Empire, for instance, Mr. Phillip Snowden, and profit by them and give us a conspectus of the situation as they see it and also some idea of our revenue position, of our capital expenditure position, in order that we may know exactly where the presidency stands rather than a mere dry summary of facts and figures which leads us nowhere?

"The total indebtedness of the province stands as the budget shows at 14 crores at the end of the next year. I am not one of those who are frightened at heavy indebtedness. I am one of those who believe that nations unlike individuals can look upon indebtedness with equanimity. But I want to know how this debt has been incurred and for what purpose. There is one item to which I must take strong objection and that is borrowing in order to meet revenue deficits. I do not think it is financially sound or politically moral. We have not the right to live upon posterity, that is, to borrow for the purpose of meeting deficits. And I do not think that with.

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this deficit budget the Finance Member should have come forward with the astounding proposal that 2 lakhs and odd should be written off, which have been given as loans to the rubber companies of Malabar. I do not think there is any justification, moral or financial, for this course. Did the rubber companies or do they undertake to share their profits with us when they return to prosperity? I do not think it is fair to the tax-payer. We have a deficit of 88 lakhs and I believe when the provincial contribution is reduced the deficit will turn into a surplus. The hon. the Finance Member very cleverly invited us to discuss a dilemma which in my humble opinion does not at all exist, namely, that between the cotton excise duty and the remission of provincial contributions. I have read Sir Basil Blackett's speech very carefully and Sir Basil does not offer that ultimatum at all. On the other hand, he has made his proposal for reduction of the contribution and he cannot go back upon that. Moreover, Sir, even such a distinguished representative of the Liberal School of Politicians as my esteemed friend, Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, when he was interviewed by the representative of the Associated Press the other day said that it was perfectly possible to do both. I too am of the same opinion. But if the hon. the Finance Member wanted to know my view or the opinion of the party to which I have the honour to belong, we would rather prefer the abolition of the cotton excise duty, a standing injustice and disgrace to the commercial morality of Britain in her dealings with India rather than wish the contribution be abolished this year, because the Government of India cannot go on levying it for more than a year or two, if they determine not to remit it this year. The hon. the Finance Member talked glibly of the profits of mill-owners. There are economic laws of supply and demand which even the Finance Member cannot ignore, and I do not think the mill-owners can go on making these profits when the laws of competition operate. And I ask what about the profits of the rubber companies, if there is the question of profits of mill-owners. Then, Sir, we are asked to congratulate ourselves and more than one Member on this side and on that side of the House have already come forward to congratulate the hon. Ministers in having got increased allotments for the transferred departments. But public memory is short and I am afraid even the memory of hon. Members of this House is very short. I would like to refer to some figures which are very significant. In 1921-22 the expenditure on the reserved departments was nearly 12 crores while in 1924-25 it is more than 12 crores. That is to show that there is an increase of over 3 per cent in the course of these three years. Whereas the expenditure on the transferred departments was in 1921-22 slightly over 4 crores and to-day it stands only at 4 crores and 21 lakhs. The increase is less than half per cent. And strangest of all, the transferred departments are so incompetently managed that even when a budget provision is made they are not able to spend the money. For, we find that they have allowed as much as Rs. 156 lakhs to lapse. I can understand the Finance Department turning round and saying: why should we make grants for you while you cannot spend them in the course of the year?"

The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL :—" May I know when the grants were resumed and when they lapsed ? "

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" During these three years I find that 156 lakhs have lapsed from grants made to the transferred departments. The hon. the Finance Member towards the close of his speech delivered himself of this

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sentiment, namely, that retrenchment has been carried to such an extent that it is impossible hereafter to retrench further expenditure except at the expense of efficiency. I do not at all agree with him. My hon Friend, Dr. Mathai, in a very instructive speech yesterday told us that the problem of increased taxation in this province is a problem of psychology. I entirely agree with him. But I part company with him when he says that the expenditure to-day is as low as it can be, and we have only to convince them that no retrenchment is possible and people will agree for fresh taxes. No, Sir. We must go further and preach to the people that the administration in this country should be proportionate to the development of the country. I do not for a moment suggest that the hon. Member, Sir Arthur Knapp, may not deserve five thousands or six thousands per month. But if I cannot have him, I would have a man half as good as he. For, we cannot afford to have these transcendent geniuses in our country."

* Dr. JOHN MATHAI:—"I did not say yesterday that our expenditure was standing at the lowest level. I said that I had no information in the matter."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"I am glad to hear that Dr. Mathai does not wish to commit himself; as a distinguished economist, he did not want to commit himself to the other view. My own feeling is that taxes can be raised in this province with the willing consent of the tax-payer, only and only when Swaraj is obtained, when the tax-payer knows that the taxes are being levied by his own representatives and spent by his representatives."

"Coming to the revenue side of the budget, Sir, as I said last year, even this year the bulk of our revenue is raised by taxing the necessities or the vices of our people. Land, drink or litigation, these are the three sources of our revenue. And how do we spend them? Less than one-fourth is spent upon the so-called nation-building departments and more than three-fourths on administration, upon police, upon the unproductive services that the Government give us. We are told—I am sorry I was not here when my hon. Friend from Guntūr delivered himself,—but I understand, of a platitudinous attack upon Swarajists—we are told that we were returning to days of sanity. But that is neither here nor there. If Swarajist influence is waning, I would like to know how our distinguished Friend, Mr. Thanikachalam Chettiyar, was one of the enthusiastic supporters of an address to Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Madras Corporation at the meeting held yesterday. My hon. Friend, Mr. Ethirajulu Nayudu, has only to be here for some years when even his political phase must undergo some transformation. Sir, in this Council, constituted as the Government at present is, no one can hope to do anything effective. For questions we have got evasion, for resolutions we have got indifference, for Bills, vetoes and certification. That is the Sisyphean task on which we are engaged. We speak. We pass resolutions. The Government turn them down. When we pass Bills or reduce grants, veto or certification is resorted to. When we interpellate, we get evasive replies. If that is the kind of game in which my hon. Friend wants us to be engaged for ever, I wish him joy of it. Everywhere we the Swarajists are supposed to follow a policy of indiscriminate obstruction. But that policy is being followed by the hon. Members of the Treasury Bench. They are the people who indiscriminately obstruct us. They will not co-operate with us except on their own terms. If we say 'ditto' to their words, we are complimented and the moment we differ from them, we are not wanted. I wish my hon. Friend here had

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learnt it as quickly as we have done. I want to give one example. I am not making any personal complaint. The other day I wrote to the hon. the Home Member about the very question to which my hon. Friend referred the other day, the question of the ill-treatment of prisoners in the Alipuram jail. I wanted him to give the opportunity of a visit to the jail myself. I was then under the impression that he was going away shortly. I told him, therefore, that on the eve of his retirement he would not allow red tapism to stand in the way of granting my request. A week after, I got the reply that my letter was forwarded to the Law Secretary for disposal. That was three weeks ago. I am yet to know from the Law Secretary the disposal accorded to my letter. That is the way in which they spurn our efforts at co-operation."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" I am sorry that continuously personal matters are being raised on this point. May I take this opportunity of bringing to the attention of hon. Members that there is a constitutional method by which every one can approach the Government? I am but a single member of it. I am not entitled to give the answer my hon. Friend asks for, namely, permission to visit the Alipuram jail. That is a matter for the Government and I was perfectly in order when I replied that the matter should be decided by the agency, the regular representative of the Government of Madras, namely, the Secretary concerned. A private letter from my hon. Friend cannot possibly be disposed of by me in a semi-private capacity. Sir, the habit has grown up for hon. Members to address Members of Government by personal letters and to insist on them to answer personally. Sometimes it is not possible to do so especially when there is a possible commitment. And the only regular way in which the matter can be attended to is through the agency of the Government, the Secretary concerned."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" But my complaint is that no answer has been given at all. That only confirms my view that the Government will not co-operate with us unless we are willing to go on with them on their own terms."

11-15 a.m.

" Another department in his charge is the Department of Forests. I had hoped that it would pay its way, but I find that again this year we are asked to spend Rs. 57½ lakhs while the Government expect to receive only about Rs. 54 lakhs. I want to know why this should be kept on as a white elephant."

" With regard to district board railways, I should like the hon. the Home Member to make a definite statement in this House as to what it is this Government stands for. Do they stand for the policy of handing over profitable railways which the district boards have constructed for public good, to the Railway Board or the South Indian Railway Company?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" On a point of order, Sir, I do not think there is any provision in the budget dealing with railways, and I should like to take your ruling as to whether in a general discussion of the budget it is permissible to refer to the question of Railways and the Railway Board."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" I want to know whether it would not come under district boards."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" If so, I am afraid it is not in my jurisdiction. But my point is a larger one, namely, that these days are allotted

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for a general discussion of our budget. Railways are not included in our budget and I want to know whether it is right to refer to them in the general discussion."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it the hon. the Home Member has no objection to the remarks being addressed to the hon. the Chief Minister. "

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" My point, Sir, is that under the rules His Excellency allots a day or days for the general discussion of the budget. This being a central subject and not being included in our budget at all, it seems to me that the discussion of that matter is irrelevant and comes outside the scope of the purpose for which these days were allotted. "

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I am not quite prepared to look into the matter now and give a definite ruling. If it is the case that Government object to any remarks being made on district board railways, the hon. Member from Coimbatore had better defer his remarks to another occasion. He will have another opportunity in the course of the budget discussions. "

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" I bow to your ruling, but it seems to me that district boards are under our jurisdiction, and railways are constructed by them. They have spent money upon them and they derive revenue from them. I want to know the agency of control and management with regard to district board railways, but I may leave it there, Sir, for the present. "

" Now, Sir, I come to my hon. Friend, the Law Member. He promised some months ago to issue a communiqué with regard to the state of arrears in the High Court justifying the increase in the strength of that Court, and I had hoped to see it before the budget was printed. But we see in the budget that he makes provision for two more Judges for one full year, that is, in addition to the 12 High Court Judges already existing. I have not had the pleasure of looking at that communiqué up to now, and I hope that it will be issued very soon, and that it will give a statement justifying this increase in strength. I have great respect for the hon. the Judges, but I would ask the hon. the Law Member to remember that numbers are not always synonymous with efficiency. And I want to ask the hon. the Law Member to see that they will continue to set the brilliant example they have set, of attending punctually at 11 a.m. and working continuously until 5 o'clock and not coming at odd hours of the day and thereby lowering the standard of punctuality which the High Court has set up for the past so many years. I would also appeal to him not to be—I do not say that he is—a party to the principle of Walpole being taken as the guiding principle of Government, namely, that every man has his price. I want him not to encourage the habit or custom of appointing hon. Members of this Council as public prosecutors. It is not fair to us; it is not fair to them. "

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Sir, normally I should not have interrupted the hon. Member but should have reserved what I had to say on this matter to my reply to be made at the conclusion of the remarks on the other side, and should have finally addressed myself to this question. But as the matter has been put in a very pointed and to a certain extent telling manner to the effect that my object, or at all events, the idea, underlying Government either consciously or unconsciously was to purchase hon. Members of this House, I think it is as well now, as a matter of personal explanation, to say that these appointments—I take it he refers to the recent appointments—of public prosecutors are made on the recommendations of the

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Collectors of the particular districts. I am free to confess that, speaking for myself if I had to choose, I may not adopt that plan. But if the Collectors insist on recommending such men as being the fittest men, I do not think it is up to the Government to overrule the Collectors because once the Government gets into the habit of overruling the Collector on this matter, there may be other considerations and other arguments adduced which may land us even deeper into a quagmire."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"I am surprised at my hon. Friend the Law Member having absorbed the bureaucratic spirit so thoroughly as to feel that he cannot overrule Collectors."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"We have no hesitation in overruling Collectors or others when we have the right to overrule. But in the case of these persons there are obvious objections to allow much play to the personal equation of the Member and it is safer to adopt these recommendations. It may be that if these recommendations are taking a wrong line or that if the Government thinks as a whole that the recommendations are not made in the right spirit, then we will have to adopt a different policy."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"I may only suggest for the hon. the Law Member's careful consideration, if I may respectfully say so, this principle, namely, that he shall not encourage to the extent that lies in his power this habit of hon. Members of this Council accepting paid or honorary offices under the Government, and, if they do so, it will be a cause of serious danger and ruin to the growth of responsibility in this House. He knows it, and he ought to know it, and if he tells me that besides these people there is nobody else to take up these places I would tell him देशो विशालः प्रभवोप्य नन्ताः (the country is wide and capable men are innumerable). Therefore it may be that many good men of education and character are available to fill these small places

"I want to say only one word about the hon. the Finance Member. He says that retrenchment has been carried to the point of efficiency. But I want him to consider whether he cannot do this thing, namely, reduce the number of his colleagues from 4 to 3. That will be a great retrenchment. And he may also suggest to his colleagues on the left that they may reduce their number from 3 to 2. If we are to have only 5 instead of 7 members, it will be a sound reduction and it will be a good retrenchment.

"I want to ask the hon. the Revenue Member to busy himself with the Land Revenue Bill. It is an old Bill and I hope it would be brought forward next August. I also hope that it would be a better Bill than the one introduced by the hon. the Leader of this House, and that it would conform at least more to the spirit of the recommendations of the Joint Committee. I hope he would not throw at us a bit of paper and say 'For the present have the benefit of discussing this Bill, but we shall enforce our own taxes as we please.

"My hon. Friend the Chief Minister has received congratulations on the administration of the Medical Department. I want to suggest to him that it is somewhat farcical to have a highly paid official for this department. I find a small provision made for receipts from hospital fees, and he can afford to do without it. With regard to his administration of the Local Self-Government Department, I must say that in spite of our best efforts the administration has not been good at all. The methods of Tympany Hall

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are being pursued, and the American plan of party has been adopted, and it is working on a system of spoils and offices, or that is the system to which the hon. the Minister is moving. Practically he uses the power to strengthen the influence of his party in the Walpolean fashion and if there are any inconvenient bodies which would boldly champion the popular cause, his power is used against them. The Dindigul municipality is an example in point. Again, if any Congressman gets himself elected, as he cannot get nomination, the Minister has got powers to declare that the whole election is wrong. He will find out some legal flaw in the rules and regulations in order to justify his action. But that, I may tell him, is not the way to lead the people to believe in the efficacy of a democratic local self-government.

"With regard to my hon. Friend the Education Minister, I just want to say two words. His Excise administration continues to be the same. In spite of 4 years of administration we are exactly where we were before. He has budgeted for nearly 5 crores. Does he realize that these 5 crores come from the starvation and the misery and poverty and the death and disease of thousands of families in our Presidency? What is the use of building up a nation of drunkards, while developing education and making people literate and giving them medicines? What is the policy you are going to pursue? You have no policy. You have no plan, no programme. You simply make speeches and issue election and other manifestoes and appoint committees to which you make references. But when it comes to the question of a reduction of revenue, you have not got the courage to do it, because if you do anything of the kind you will lose your place, and rather than lose your place you will do nothing such as is suggested. Now, with regard to Education I want to charge the Minister with the step-motherly treatment which he has been showing to the Madras University. He has created a number of bodies which conflict with one another. They discuss many things, but they have no money to spend on any useful work. Moreover, the grants made to them will lapse before a certain time, and they have made another rule, that is, that they will give these grants from quarter to quarter, but that these grants will lapse if they are not spent within the year. I want to predict that it is quite possible that all these things would not result in any good if this kind of doctrine of lapse is to be applied to the Madras University alone. In Calcutta they do not do it, and I do not think that it is fair to allow the University of Madras to starve like this. I have just one word to add about the Andhra University which, I may be allowed to say, deliberately is an election dodge so that he may say to the people after the term is over 'I have done this. I have brought out this University'. He has modelled it on the Madras University and it has no improvements at all. It embodies the same administrative principle without finance or cultural ideas.

"As regards the hon. the Minister for Development, I seriously suggest to my hon. Friend that the department may as well be abolished (Laughter), and he can do more good to the country in any other department. He develops nothing but the pay of officers employed in the department. There is not one industry on which they have been able to show any real profit.

"One last word I want to address to the hon. the Finance Member. Sir Basil Blackett in the course of his budget speech said that the Government of India are trying to avoid supplementary grants as much as possible. This Government have come forward before us with many items in the shape of supplementary demands. But I have a shrewd suspicion that both in

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number and amounts they were considerably large. I shall therefore ask the hon. the Finance Member in the interests of sound public finance and the control which the House may have to exercise over Government, to cut short as far as possible these supplementary demands for grants.

"Only one word more, Sir, and I have done. This is the last budget except the one which will come up next year before the next election and without wasting any more time, as I already said, I may say that so long as diarchy continues and so long as real responsible Government is not established in this country we are simply ploughing the sand here. So the people must join our party, the Swarjya party, in order that they may make this Government yield to us and so that there may be real Swaraj for our country." (Cheers.)

* Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJA :—"Mr. President, Sir, I re-enter the Council with great pleasure, and I should like to record my overwhelming sense of gratitude to His Excellency the Governor who has been kind enough to nominate me in place of Mr. Paddison. Although I cannot boast of the prestige and authority which is attached to Mr. Paddison, I feel I have one advantage which Mr. Paddison did not possess; I am myself a member of the community I represent, which community he sought to serve, and served with such real sympathy and winsome tact. If you find in me a little more fire than you were accustomed to in Mr. Paddison, I hope you will pardon me and put it down to my consciousness of the burning grievances under which my community labours. I hope, however, that if I get the sympathy and support of all sections of this Council including the Ministers I shall be able to do some real good to my community, which fact shall not be lost sight of by the electorate when the time comes for an appeal to be made to the electorate with a record of real work done."

"The hon. the Finance Member while introducing the Budget for 1925-26 said that there was no immediate prospect without the return of a part of our contribution to the Central Government of appreciable progress towards nation-building.

"We are happy to hear, Sir, that the Central Government proposes to give us a remission of Rs. 126 lakhs. So the work of nation-building should be pushed on vigorously. What is nation-building if it does not include the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes who form more than a sixth of the population of the Presidency, who are denied even the rights enjoyed by the brute creation? Unless and till the work of ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes is taken up in right earnest and carried on in every nook and corner of this benighted Presidency no nation-building work worthy of the name can be done. We form more than one-sixth of the population and at least one-sixth of the remission of Rs. 126 lakhs shall be earmarked for this most important part of nation-building work.

"Sir, I now appeal to the good nature, to the benevolence, to the love of distinction in well-doing, if not to the patriotism, and the religious fervour of the caste Hindu Members of this House to make some slight reparation for the age-long wrongs done to my community by setting apart at least one-sixth of this amount to do work for the social emancipation, economic uplift and political liberty of my people in this Presidency. Then, and then alone the prosperity of our province will be assured.

"I see that the land-revenue comes to Rs. 750.67 lakhs and the excise revenue amounts to Rs. 499.23 lakhs. It is generally said that my people do

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not make any contribution to the State in the shape of taxes. But let me assure this House that it is my people and it is their hard-sweating work that enables the landed aristocracy to pay such large revenues to the State. And it is they that contribute the lion's share of excise revenue. Since we are responsible to a great extent for the revenues of the State, we require the greatest attention and the greatest care in the hands of Government. There was a time when it was said that once Indians get power into their hands all the wrongs would be righted. Now let me ask you, the hon. Members of this House, are we any nearer to the time when we will think with shame of such things having once existed in this country? Is not the very fact of the existence of the depressed classes an unquestionable indication of the depth of barbarism to which the Indian has sunk, and the enormous resistance that any attempt at their amelioration meets with is a further sign of how utterly incompetent they are for even an approach to self-government. Let me not be misunderstood here. Do not for a moment think that I am against the reforms; but I maintain that no greater harm could be done to the country than by the introduction of these reforms, before the country is ripe to receive them. Therefore I earnestly appeal to the hon. Members of this House to push forward schemes, I mean nation-building schemes, to make the country fit to receive further instalments of reforms. If you only earnestly, sincerely and whole-heartedly take up first and foremost the work of the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes in this Presidency, and thus bring these submerged millions to the level of the oppressing classes, then, and then alone, your nation-building work will progress, and then, and then alone, the country would be fit for full responsible Government.

"In this connexion, I would call your attention to that most necessary and useful department, I mean the department of the Protector of the Depressed Classes which now goes by the name of the Labour Commissioner's department. I do not know if all of you are aware that this department was first started in 1919, solely for the amelioration of the conditions of the depressed classes in this Presidency."

*The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"May I ask the hon. Member to address the chair and not the Members of the House? He has been long enough in the House to know that."

*Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJA :—"Yes, Sir. The Protector was saddled with other duties and he is now called the Labour Commissioner. From 1919 I have been appealing to the Members of this House that the Protector should not be saddled with other kinds of work and that he ought to be a whole-time officer and should only do the work of the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes. All these years I have been told that it was not possible to give a separate officer owing to want of funds. You know very well that the work of the Labour Commissioner has now increased to a very great extent, and we expect him to push on his activities in all the districts of this Presidency. If that is also the intention of this House, I ask you if it will be possible to do appreciable and useful work by an officer who is saddled with other multifarious duties? Since the provincial impost is substantially reduced by Rs. 126 lakhs, I pray that you would give us a whole-time officer for this most important work, and also make further additional grants to enable him to carry on the work in all parts of this Presidency without any difficulty."

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"When Government could find men from among the community to fill places in Legislative Councils, Municipal Councils and local bodies, can they not find suitable men to be appointed as honorary district labour officers?"

"Glancing through the labour budget I consider the amount set apart for depressed class work very meagre, seeing that this amount is intended for seven millions of the population. I must say I am astonished to see under depressed classes the item "maintenance of sessional schools for backward classes" on page 337 of the Civil Budget Estimate. Surely backward classes do not come under depressed classes. They are all caste Hindas, and if I am not mistaken, the communities to which two of our Ministers belong come under these classes. Backward classes are those communities that are educationally backward but are high up in the social and economic scale, whereas the depressed classes are those communities who are educationally, economically and socially backward; and this is due to the systematic tyranny and social oppression of the so-called higher castes. And so that item must be removed from the depressed classes budget and if necessary be transferred to the education budget. Whenever I tried to press the claims of the depressed classes they always bring in as a counterweight the claims of the so-called backward classes, who are backward from sheer idleness, self-imposed ignorance, inactivity and slumber.

"I now wish to make certain suggestions as regards the educational policy on which the present Ministry has been concentrating its attention and powers. The importance of elementary education is something that is nearly a commonplace acceptance of all modern statecraft. It is the basis that stabilises the towers and domes of higher studies. We all want the shaping and realising of a sound system of elementary education. Has elementary education become more general and popular? Has its influence extended? Are more people resorting to it? Are more parents urged to send their boys to elementary schools? Are the elementary school teachers better off themselves and more sanguine of the future of education? These are the questions that will strike one interested in the youth of the country. The elementary school teacher is not a professor who goes to his duty at fixed hours and returns with the sense of pride of a fine lecture delivered. He has to be an educator of parents. He has to coax, persuade and convince them of the benefit and necessity of schooling. He has to go round and collect pupils but no school teacher will care to be an enthusiastic recruiting sergeant when the reward is not adequate. We all know that the elementary school teachers are half-starved and may I say half-naked also? What is the use of starting more and more schools and introducing the element of compulsion when there is a dearth of trained teachers? That a trained teacher is anywhere and any day better as a general rule than an untrained one is a statement that the Minister and everybody must only too well recognize. But under the present order where is the incentive for teachers to get themselves trained? The supply of trained teachers is not now more than before. The Minister should take steps to make more provision for training schools for the training of teachers.

"Then again, grants given to aided schools are very, very meagre. We expected the district educational councils to be more liberal. We thought they would safeguard the aided private schools. But all in vain. Unless this question is taken up immediately, I am afraid all the aided schools will die. The hon. the Minister will, I hope, look into this vital question and set

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number and amounts they were considerably large. I shall therefore ask the hon. the Finance Member in the interests of sound public finance and the control which the House may have to exercise over Government, to cut short as far as possible these supplementary demands for grants.

"Only one word more, Sir, and I have done. This is the last budget except the one which will come up next year before the next election and without wasting any more time, as I already said, I may say that so long as diarchy continues and so long as real responsible Government is not established in this country we are simply ploughing the sand here. So the people must join our party, the Swarjya party, in order that they may make this Government yield to us and so that there may be real Swaraj for our country." (Cheers.)

* Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJA :—" Mr. President, Sir, I re-enter the Council with great pleasure, and I should like to record my overwhelming sense of gratitude to His Excellency the Governor who has been kind enough to nominate me in place of Mr. Paddison. Although I cannot boast of the prestige and authority which is attached to Mr. Paddison, I feel I have one advantage which Mr. Paddison did not possess; I am myself a member of the community I represent, which community he sought to serve, and served with such real sympathy and winsome tact. If you find in me a little more fire than you were accustomed to in Mr. Paddison, I hope you will pardon me and put it down to my consciousness of the burning grievances under which my community labours. I hope, however, that if I get the sympathy and support of all sections of this Council including the Ministers I shall be able to do some real good to my community, which fact shall not be lost sight of by the electorate when the time comes for an appeal to be made to the electorate with a record of real work done.

"The hon. the Finance Member while introducing the Budget for 1925-26 said that there was no immediate prospect without the return of a part of our contribution to the Central Government of appreciable progress towards nation-building.

"We are happy to hear, Sir, that the Central Government proposes to give us a remission of Rs. 126 lakhs. So the work of nation-building should be pushed on vigorously. What is nation-building if it does not include the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes who form more than a sixth of the population of the Presidency, who are denied even the rights enjoyed by the brute creation? Unless and till the work of ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes is taken up in right earnest and carried on in every nook and corner of this benighted Presidency no nation-building work worthy of the name can be done. We form more than one-sixth of the population and at least one-sixth of the remission of Rs. 126 lakhs shall be earmarked for this most important part of nation-building work.

"Sir, I now appeal to the good nature, to the benevolence, to the love of distinction in well-doing, if not to the patriotism, and the religious fervour of the caste Hindu Members of this House to make some slight reparation for the age-long wrongs done to my community by setting apart at least one-sixth of this amount to do work for the social emancipation, economic uplift and political liberty of my people in this Presidency. Then, and then alone the prosperity of our province will be assured.

"I see that the land-revenue comes to Rs. 750.67 lakhs and the excise revenue amounts to Rs. 499.23 lakhs. It is generally said that my people do

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the depressed classes will gladly march hand in hand with the other communities towards the goal of self-government. India will then become one happy family with joy radiating from every home, and England will then be only too glad to invest her with full responsible self-government."

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, this is the fifth time I have to address myself to this House and yourself, Sir, about the budget. Every time it has been my lot to place before you, Sir, a catalogue of the grievances of the Muslim community with the sincere hope and trust that these grievances would be rectified. But my cry has been a voice in the wilderness; it has been a cry of the children of Benisrael which is never heeded to by anybody. I congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for his budget. Sir, it has been presented to us. It shows the amount of labour, the amount of sincerity which he must have bestowed upon the subject. There is a deficit indeed. But what I expected, however, was that the deficit would have been much larger but for the careful way they cut the cloth to meet the revenues of this province. Sir, there are various other sources of retrenchment which could be explored and greater economy effected. I understand there is held annually what is called the Police Sports at Vellore for which about Rs. 50,000 is spent. Indeed a quasi-military department like the Police department is entitled to spend money in sports. But when our finances are in such a very critical state, I think it is but right that the Government should suspend the operation of these police sports.

"In addition to these fifty thousand rupees, I understand that in some other districts also money is being spent in this direction. 11-45 a.m. That amount is not shown in the budget. I know as a matter of fact that in many places the Superintendents, Circle Inspectors, and so many others absent themselves from their headquarters and spend a week or two. This must cost at least a lakh and a half.

"Next, Sir, I also voice the feeling of many of my hon. Friends that the number four for the Executive Councillors is very heavy. That number is absolutely a superfluity. When we are training a band of persons in the art of responsibility, the Government are training another in the art of irresponsibility: it looks as if they are trying to neutralise the benefits of reforms. Their position is as a sort of a buffer. It has no life, it has no spring, it harms nobody and it stands by itself. A few years ago the administration of the whole country was done by two Executive Councillors. But here we have our *Saptharishis*; seven of them are in charge. I say that the two Indian Executive Councillors are not at all a necessity and I hope the Government will bear this in mind."

A VOICE:—"What about Muhammadan representation?"

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN:—"I do not care whether Muhammadans are there or not.

"As regards the Transferred departments, I congratulate the Ministry on their strong fight for the cause of the Muhammadans. Every one knows and the name of the Ministry is a household term now for their having fought for the representation of a Muhammadan in the Executive Council. I may also say that when we have been placing before the Ministers the various needs and the shortcomings of the Muhammadan community, I am glad to say, wherever it has been found possible, they have always heeded to our requests and carefully considered our grievances and demands of the community.

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[Mr. Abbas Ali Kha]

" May I say that the hon. the Chief Minister will, before he vacates his seat, immortalise his name if he starts a poor law reform and if he will house the poor, the maimed, the beggars, who are now roaming through the streets and carrying on from place to place the most loathsome diseases? If he could start at least on a limited scale a poor law reform and a house for the poor he will be doing a great good to the masses. Also, on a small limited scale he might also start an old-age pension scheme so that in the evening of their lives the poor old men can go to bed happily with the satisfaction that the State would look after them and their comforts and they need not trouble themselves any further about it. I must also say that there is a considerable amount of feeling with regard to the recommendation of Collectors in regard to nominations of Muhammadans. Whenever I go to the hon. the Chief Minister and tell him about it, he at once says that if I get the Collector to recommend any name, he will be pleased to nominate the person. To avoid the heart burning in this direction, it would be better if the Minister would evolve a scheme of separate electorate for the Muhammadans so that this complaint of perpetual trouble and friction may be once for all removed.

" As regards Education, I find that with a view to improve education among Muhammadans they were given special concessions at half the usual rates. Even in those adventitious circumstances it was not possible for them to take advantage of the concession of the Government. But I now understand that the policy of the Government has been reversed in this matter and the poor Muhammadans have been deprived of this historical benefit, if I may say so. These concessions have been taken away and the distress of the Muhammadans has been very great by the removal of this concession."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—" The concession has not at all been removed. The concession exists."

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN :—" But there are restrictions and the Missionary bodies are so reluctant to give effect to these concessions. . . ."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—" The Government are not responsible for that."

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN :—" I only bring the matter to the notice of the Government so that the Government may take the matter into their consideration."

" Then again, with regard to the Excise policy of the Government, as a Muhammadan I am strictly against it. In a poor country like India, the revenue derived from drink ought to be put down. You are making Philip Drunk to tempt Philip Sober also to drink. And the only argument against the prohibition is that it will decrease revenue. Still, if the hon. the Minister is keen about it, he can appoint a small committee of experts to suggest ways and means and methods as to how alcohol could be made use of in motor industries instead of petrol. Thus money, instead of being realized from drink, could be realized from alcohol being used for purposes of motor industry. They can once for all stop monopoly on petrol and I am sure that is one of the ways of stopping this drink evil. I am sure that with some slight change in the ways of motor mechanism they can realize the object in view and abolish drink."

" As regards the Development department, as I said, the Development department ought to concentrate more and more on agriculture, the premier industry of our province. In Madras which is a poor province, it is not."

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possible to have the necessary amount of capital. For a real improvement in this direction both capital and enterprise should join together. The difficulty has been in starting a private enterprise. Where there is capital there is no enterprise and where there is enterprise there is no capital. The Government alone should therefore come to the rescue.

"As regards the Muhammadans, I am sorry to say that the hon. the Finance Member remarked the other day that the duty of the Government Members is not to provide for appointments and livelihood to all communities. My view of any Government is this: viz., that it should do the greatest good to the greatest number and thus promote happiness and prosperity of the various communities. I am therefore saying that it is the duty of the Government. If that view is held by any private firm like Spencers, or any other commercial concern purely having an eye on its profits, I can understand. But a Government like the Madras Government which is the trustee for the welfare of the people ought not to say that and they should look to the increasing happiness of their people. I therefore request that the Government would kindly reconsider their opinion and take in as many as possible. As regards the Muhammadans again, I find though a number of appointments are filled up by Ayyangars, Ayyars and Rowjees; whenever there is a vacancy, it is but legitimate that Muhammadans should be appointed to decent places in different vacancies.

"One other matter; I am sorry to find there has not been any provision made for increasing the pay of our Secretary and the Assistant Secretary. The Secretary without whom we cannot get on is to have no increment in his salary. I hope that at least in the next year's budget provision will be made for the increase of the pay of the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary.

"Lastly, I want to pay a compliment to our Friend Mr. R. W. Davies. Sir, he is a versatile genius of our House and I have never seen another gentleman who can draft and put up notes and prepare cases in such a short time as he does. I am sure that he will come back in full vigour. I think I have done."

* Mr. P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI:—"Sir, I wish to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for two reasons. I see the hon. the Member for the University is already staring at me. I say I congratulate the Finance Member for two reasons. One is, that it is so very depressing to sit here all the time without congratulating him. The second is, a more proper reason, that the budget is a deficit budget. I am not afraid of a deficit budget. Matters must come to a crisis and it is only then that people will attend to it. If it were a balancing budget you always starve the nation. If instead, you had to borrow it does not matter if you have money to spend on nation-building departments or continue to borrow and spend on nation-building departments and continue to present a deficit budget. And then only you bring matters to a crisis. The Council then will attend to it. If instead of the present deficit the deficit were one crore or even more I would more vehemently congratulate the Government than now."

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR:—"The hon. Member is in the Finance Committee himself and he could make necessary suggestions there."

Mr. P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI:—"That is not one of the functions of the Committee. I am going to say that the Committee must have the initiative."

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"I strongly urge for more provision to be made for nation-building departments. That would not only improve the position of the province but also justify the transfer of powers to the Ministers. You must give them more subjects and more money. By transferring the power that is being now exercised by the Executive Councillors to the Ministers you make an impression in the country that you are serious in working the reforms. This step will be really advancing the cause of responsible Government and I would suggest that a large amount should be allotted to the Ministers for spending on the nation-building departments.

12 noon. "I will certainly congratulate the Ministers for their achievements. Let me in particular refer to the hon. the Chief Minister. He has been very strenuous and against great odds has introduced a system for encouraging indigenous medicine all over the country. He had to fight against the prejudices of medical men, of Surgeon-Generals, past and present. Within a few years, I expect that the system would grow to great dimensions and that people would be largely benefited by it.

"He has also introduced the scheme for rural relief and has greatly extended its benefits to the rural areas which were so long neglected. And so far as the Education Minister is concerned, he has bestowed great attention on the expansion of primary education. In all his tours he has spoken very much about the schemes he has introduced for the advancement of primary education, and before long I am perfectly sure he will introduce a scheme of compulsory primary education.

"I feel certain delicacy in saying anything about the Minister for Development owing to my personal relationship with him. But I am here to defend him against any attacks made by the Members of the Opposition who think it is their duty to destroy the Ministry. I must bring before this House, Sir, the grievances of people in the rural areas. Village life has been completely destroyed within the last 150 years of British rule. I do not say it was consciously destroyed. The corporate life of the village has become a thing of the remote past. The village headman in whom was concentrated all the power, all the dignity and all the means by which satisfaction to the villagers was given, has been reduced to a cypher by the Government. He has been reduced to the position of paid servant on Rs. 15. Recently, there was a discussion for raising the pay of the village headman. I for one would definitely say that the post of village headman be made honorary. I must say on this occasion that the reorganization of village is a factor which the Government must take into their serious consideration urgently. You are organizing from the top. You are having a highly centralized system of Government. If by any chance—I hope that such a catastrophe will not occur—central system is destroyed there will arise a disorder and confusion which you cannot prevent. I will very earnestly appeal to the House and to Government to see that the reorganization of the village life is taken in hand, to concentrate all the powers in the village headman or in the panchayat which you can establish in the village itself instead of asking the villager to go to a munsif's court, or magistrate's court, for redressing his grievance; instead of asking his son to go to a distant school, for his studies.

"As regards irrigation, instead of the overseer and the subdivisional officer distributing water to our fields, that power must be concentrated in the hands

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of the panchayat or village headman who will attend to the matter immediately. So that if the reorganization of the village takes place immediately, all the needs of the village will be attended to and the villagers also will to a very large extent be satisfied with the Reformed Government.

"Then, Sir, being a Member of the Finance Committee, I have felt certain inconveniences which I must bring to the notice of the House. We as Members of the Finance Committee, have no initiative in respect of any schemes. I want that a committee of this House—let it be the Finance Committee itself—should initiate schemes. There may be difficulties in the way, but I must protest against the manner in which the Finance Committee is asked to do its work at present. It is this: there is a large array of grants. I particularly note the building grants because I consider them to be a waste of public money. You want a taluk office, you want a sub-registrar's office, you want a magistrate's cutcherry, you want a high school and you want about five or six lakhs for building them in a simple taluk. On the other hand, if you spend these on the development of irrigation facilities and towards the expansion of education, the country will derive great benefits; it will be a far greater monument of British rule and will conduce to the greater contentment and prosperity of the people than the straggling buildings you will leave behind and which will require large sums of money to keep them in repair. I will leave to the Government to find out the means by which the initiative in these proposals should be given to a committee of this House.

"I have only one thing more to say, namely, that the pay of the officials has increased enormously during the last ten years. It has very nearly doubled and quadrupled. I do not say that a difference must be made between a European and an Indian, but if a difference is to be made, I do not for a moment grudge to give something more to the European considering he has been in our country for long and is likely to go very soon (hear, hear and laughter). So far as the Indians are concerned, I think a maximum limit should be fixed (hear, hear from the Opposition bench) and when the Opposition attempts to reduce the Ministers' salary, I want them to bear in mind that no millennium will come by reducing their salary. If you make it a point to reduce the salaries of every officer of Government who draws a pay of, say more than Rs. 100, I will join with you. But if you reduce the Ministers' salary as a political move and not with a view to improve the finances, you know what my answer will be. Leaving that for the present, I want to tell you our expenses are rising enormously. The Deputy Collector who was content with Rs. 300 or 400 is now given 800 or 900. The District Munsif who was content to get Rs. 150 is given Rs. 300 or 400. Your expenses on that scale of pay alone has nearly quadrupled within the last ten years; and unless something is done in the way of reducing that, the pensions and the increased pay to officials in the time-scale will swell up and you will find yourself every year with a deficit budget, not in the sense in which I said it would be devoted to the nation-building departments but in the sense that more and more is given to officers to make them contented, while you make the whole people and the country more and more discontented."

Mr. T. M. Ross:—"Sir, this is the first occasion I have been privileged to listen to a budget debate in this House, and what has struck me is that while the hon. the Finance Member and Government generally have been very freely criticized, very few practical suggestions have been put forward

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APPENDIX II.

[Vide answer to question No. 381 asked by Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 5th March 1925, page 791 supra.]

Proceedings of the District Board, Bellary, dated 18th October 1924.

Read G.O. Mis. No. 2849, L. & M., dated 14th October 1924, on the recommendation of the District Retrenchment Committee, Bellary, and requesting to communicate—

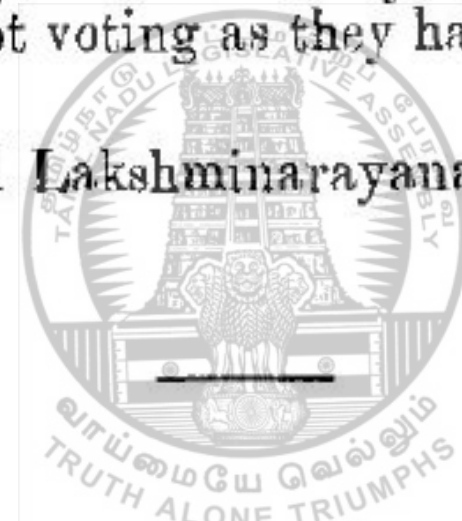
- (i) the District Board's approval of its normal budget;
- (ii) the District Board's opinion on the proposals for the redistribution of the taluk boards in the district.

Resolution No. 36.—(i) Approved.

(ii) The Board resolves to accept the suggestion contained in the G.O. Mis. No. 2849, L. & M., dated 14th October, about the redistribution and that it may be given effect to at once.

Messrs. Cotelingam, Ranganatha Mudaliyar, Brahma Sastrulu and Saiyid Muhammad Padsha Sahib not voting as they had not sufficient time to come to a conclusion.

Messrs. Obala Charlu and Lakshminarayana Rao against the resolution.



APPENDIX III.

[Vide answer to question No. 382 asked by Mr. J. A. Saldanha at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 5th March 1925, page 792 supra.]

Extract from the Inspection Notes of the Director of Public Health, Madras, on Sanitation in Mangalore Municipality—Inspected on 11th and 12th November 1924.

The problem of *night soil disposal* in the town has always been a troublesome one. The present trenching ground is about 3 miles outside the town in a place called Darabail. The depot has been a subject of very serious complaints for many years past from a small colony of residents living a few furlongs away from the depot. I have carefully inspected this ground at the request of the Chairman and also the line of houses occupied by the complainants. Whilst it cannot be denied that the trenching ground in question is to some extent a source of offence to the complainants especially when the prevailing wind is in that direction, I do not agree that it is a serious source of danger. The trenching ground is so large about 30 to 40 acres in extent so open and the soil so suitable that I think that if trenching is properly done it ought not to be so. There has been mismanagement of depot in the past, and this has probably caused the storm of protests made against it. Faulty trenching always causes nuisance. The fault is that the trenches are made too big and deep and they were overfilled with night-soil with the

[Mr. M. R. Seturatnam Ayyar] [6th March 1925]

"Sir, the agriculturist has to be ever in dread of the resettlement operations in this Presidency. We in this Council have always been demanding that no settlement proposals should be given effect to, till a satisfactory Land Revenue Bill is passed into law by us. In the case of the Tanjore district, the Government issued orders on the resettlement proposals fixing an enhancement of $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent wherein they stated that no representations or deputations were sent in by the landowners during the time given for objections. Taking a lesson from this, the Trichinopoly landowners sent in representations to His Excellency the Governor and all the authorities concerned and a deputation also waited on the Revenue Member. All the same, the Government have issued similar orders on the Trichinopoly district also, fixing the same percentage of enhancement as that of Tanjore without taking into consideration anyone of the objections raised by the landowners. No further searching inquiry regarding the conditions in the district about the nature of the soil, the nature of irrigation sources and the economic conditions of the people, was even allowed to be made and reported. After all, everything ended in a farce.

"Sir, the outstanding event of the year has been the occurrence of floods in July last, on a scale beyond any hitherto recorded, and enormous damage was done to cultivable lands and to irrigation works. To give relief to the affected agriculturists, this Council passed two resolutions, one to give some gratuitous relief to the landowners whose lands has been silted up with sand, and the other, that in case the above was not possible, to give proportionate remissions to the fields silted up with sand or damaged for about thirty years. The Government do not seem to have done anything appreciable on the above resolutions but have only promised assistance in the way of advice and plant to remove the sand. Where land has been scoured away entirely by flood water, the Government consider that there is no practical relief measure which can be adopted. Can they not pay any compensation to those that have lost their lands? However the Government consider and that after a careful examination, the most equitable course in the case of loans granted to the sufferers for the Mappilla rebellion, will be to wipe out all loans, not only as regards private individuals, which may be justifiable, but also the loans granted to a few Rubber companies and to pay in addition a large sum as compensation to one of the above companies. Is this fair or justifiable? In this connexion, it is gratifying to note that the Central Flood Relief Committee is still engaged in effecting some tangible relief to the affected landowners.

"As regards damage to irrigation works, I can say from my personal experience of the Trichinopoly district that most of the
12-15 p.m. Korambu channels had deteriorated and no crops could be raised at all in the year in many parts as water could not pass through the channels from the river Cauvery. It is now 7 or 8 months since the floods had occurred and still the damaged sluices and other works in the heads of some important channels such as the Marudur Nattu Vaikal in the Trichinopoly district, etc., are not set right. There is the general impression among the landowners that at this rate of progress no cultivation will be possible for some 3 or 4 years to come. It is also said that the Engineering authorities have also reported likewise. May I request the hon. Member for Irrigation to consider and put into operation at once the Katalai Anient scheme across the Cauvery which the landowners of Trichinopoly are urging—and I hope the

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landowners of Tanjore will agree—as the only means of ensuring water-supply for irrigation purposes in the present state. The construction of a permanent anicut at Katalai across the Cauvery and the excavation of a kalingula on either side parallel to the river to connect all the Korambu kalingulas, will, it is considered, restore partially the irrigation facilities the Korambu channels had prior to the lowering of the Upper Anicut in 1902. It will also leave undisturbed the improvements carried already in the interests of Tanjore delta and help in carrying out still further improvements which the flood of 1924 had rendered imperative.

‘ In fine, what does the ordinary agriculturist care for? He does not care whether more Indians have been given greater powers in administration or whether a large number of persons have got into these Councils. His only anxiety is that he gets more water for the fields, more produce from the lands and pay less taxes, and his chief concern is to look after and improve his material condition. When most of the people of this Presidency are agriculturists, the real test by which administration should be judged is whether it satisfies the above requirements and increase the material prosperity of the people. Applying that test, I cannot compliment the present system of Government and I cannot see that we have in any way improved the material resources of the people. If this is the service we render to the agriculturists without in any way augmenting their resources, they may well say “Let Rama rule, or, Ravana, we are indifferent.”’

*Mr. K. RAGHUCHANDRA BALLAL then addressed the Council in Kanarese as follows:—

“ಮಾನ್ಯ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರೇ, ಅಯ್ಯಾ, 1925-26 ನೇ ಅಭಿಯಾನ ವರ್ಷದ ಸರಕಾರಿ ಆದಾಯ ವೆಚ್ಚಗಳ ಅಂದಾಜು ಪಟ್ಟಿಯನ್ನು ನೋಡುವಾಗ್ಯೂ, ಖರ್ಚಿನ ಮೊಬಲಗು ಜಾಸ್ತಿ ತೋರುವುದರೂ ಸರಕಾರದವರ ಔದಾರ್ಯದ - ವ - ಮಾನ್ಯ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯದಿಂದ ದೀರ್ಘದರ್ಶನ ಕುರಿತು ಕ್ಲಾಘಿಸದೆ ಇರಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ.

“ಪ್ರಕೃತ, ಸರಕಾರದ ಅಂಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಇಡೀ ಔಮಿಗಿ ಗವರ್ನರರು, ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೆ ಕಲೆಕ್ಟರರು, ತಾಲೂಕಿಗೆ ತಹಶೀಲ್ದಾರರು ಹಾಗೂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದವರುಗಳೋ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಪ್ರತಿ ಒಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮಕ್ಕೂ ಒಬ್ಬೊಬ್ಬ ಪಟೀಲ - ಯಾ - ಗ್ರಾಮ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥನು ಅವಶ್ಯಕನಾದವನು ಈ ಸಂಗತಿಯನ್ನು ಆಲೋಚಿಸಿ ಕಳೆದ ವರ್ಷ ಈ ನಿಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮತದಿಂದ ವಂಜಾರಾದ ಶರಾವನ್ನು ಸರಕಾರದವರು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿ ಆ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಬೇಕಾದ ದ್ರವ್ಯಸಂಚಯ ಈ ಅಂದಾಜುಪಟ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಒದಗಿಸಿ ಇಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದು ಅತ್ಯರ್ಥಕರ. ಇಂನಾದರೂ ದುರುಸ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಕುರಿತು ಒದಗಿಸುವುದು ಅಗತ್ಯ.

“ಪೋಲಿಸ ಬಾಬಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಖರ್ಚು ಜಾಸ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಬರುವ ಸಂಗತಿಯು ನನ್ನ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ತೋಚುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ಪೋಲಿಸ ಸ್ಟೇಷನಗಳನ್ನು ಇತ್ತಲಾಗೆ ವಜಾ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಕಾರ್ಕಳ ಮತ್ತು ಉಪ್ಪಿನಂಗಡಿ ತಾಲೂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದಿನದಿನೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗುವ ಕೊಲೆಗಳ ದೆಸೆಯಿಂದ ಪೋಲಿಸ್ ಫೆಜೆ ವರಿಸಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಬಾಬಿನಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಗಾ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಈಗಿರುವ ಸ್ಟೇಷನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆದರೂ ಅಭಿಸರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಿ ಖರ್ಚನ್ನು ಪುನಃ ಹಂಚಿ ಕಾಕಬೇಕು.

“ನೇರಹಾವಳಿಗಳಿಂದ ಕಳೆದ 2 ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಂಟಾದ ನಷ್ಟದ ಸಂಗತಿ ಆಲೋಚಿಸುವಾಗ್ಯೂ ಮುಂಜಾಗ್ರತೆಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸಂಕಷ್ಟ ನಿವಾರಿಸಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ಸಂಚಯ ವದಗಿಸಬೇಕು. ಅಂಥಾ ಗಂಡಾಂತರ ಬಾರದಿದ್ದರೆ ಆ ಮೊಬಲಗು ವ್ಯವಸಾಯಕ ಸಾಲಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿನಿಯೋಗಿಸಲ್ಪಡುವ ಹಾಗೆ ಯೋಜನೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕು.

“ಒಡೆಜನರ ಉಪಯೋಗದಬಗ್ಗೆ ಗ್ರಾಮ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಯುರ್ವೇದೀಯ ಔಷಧಾಲಯಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದರೆ ಮೈದ್ಯ ಬಾಬಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಖರ್ಚು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಆಗಬಹುದಷ್ಟೆ. ಆಯುರ್ವೇದೀಯ ಚಿಕಿತ್ಸಾ ಕ್ರಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಜನರಿಗೆ ತುಂಬಾ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸ ಇದೆ. ಔಷಧಗಳಿಗೂ ಖರ್ಚು ಕಮ್ಮಿ. ಆದರೆ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಿಂದ ಸರಕಾರದವರು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಶ್ರೇಯ - ವ - ಪ್ರೇಮವನ್ನು ಸುಪಾದಿಸಬಹುದು.

[Mr. J. A. Saldanha]

[2nd March 1925]

facilities should be afforded and this suggestion stands to reason. If Brahmans have availed themselves of the educational facilities given in this country more than any other community and on account of their high educational progress have been largely recruited into the services by the authorities, it is not their fault. The fact was that they got into the departments because they deserved to get into them. Similarly, if Indian Christians have followed their noble example of sacrifice at the altar of education (Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai : 'Hear, hear') and if they have been given preference in services neither is it their fault for being preferred to the services. If, on the other hand, communities wealthy, strong and powerful have neglected the opportunities afforded to them all round for education, it is their own fault. They have been recruited in proportion to the neglect of the opportunities afforded them. I do not particularise this or that community. But it is only the law or the survival of the fittest. The fittest persons have got into the services and there can be no complaining against it. The main qualification and the only proper qualification for the services is education. On the other hand, there are communities which have been denied opportunities of taking advantage of these facilities and which have been subjected to social disabilities and the custom or the laws of the country, viz., the depressed classes. Now, it is not their fault if they could not avail themselves of these opportunities which were given to all classes. (Mr. R. Veerian : 'Hear, hear.') It is the over-reaching pride and the racial and occupational pride of the higher castes that was the reason for their present position. Therefore, Sir, I would urge that special concessions should be given to the depressed classes. That is, the minimum of educational qualification should be exacted from them instead of the highest educational qualifications. I can illustrate this by example. For instance, if there is a post on Rs. 35 in a district court or a collector's office, for doing recording, registering and other drudgeries of the office, for such an appointment, a S.S.L.C. man would do as well as a graduate; and there were occasions when a graduate

2-45 p.m.

was not found as fit as a S.S.L.C. man. In a case like this, I think that if there are candidates from among the depressed classes, they should be given preference because they undeservedly have been subjected to various disabilities in the past. Subject to this principle and the two provisos proposed, I think my amendment of educational test as the main test of a community for being recruited into the services is a rational principle and will serve as a reasonable formula for the committee to be appointed to work on. With these words, I move the amendment that stands in my name."

Mr. R. SRINIVASAN :—"Sir, I rise to support the amendment brought forward by my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha. In doing that, I will only say a few words. There are several men in the service at present having qualifications sufficient to enable them to discharge their duties. But whenever vacancies in higher grades occur, they are given to those who have higher qualifications, and thus these men have no opportunity of getting them at all. The other day I had a letter from a member of my community in Tanjore saying that he had put in 14 years' service and was competent enough to be promoted, but he was passed over because he did not possess certain qualifications. So, according to this resolution, there would be a certain percentage of posts reserved for the depressed classes. With these few words, I support the amendment."

6th March 1925] [Mr. K. Raghuchandra Ballal]

“ ಈ ಚೆನ್ನಪ್ಪರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗುವ ಆಖ್ಯಾಯಿಕೆ ನಿಗಂಬರ ಜೈನ ಸಮಾಜದ ಪತ್ರವನ್ನು ಈ ಸಭೆಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಾಪಕ ಭಂಡಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಯೂ ಸರಕಾರಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಲೇಜಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯೂ ಪ್ರಚಾರಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು.”

*Mr. A. E. RENCONTRE :—“ Mr. President, I wish to offer a few remarks on the budget. I do not think that there is really any cause for alarm because the budget is a deficit one. The real question is whether the hon. the Finance Member has prepared the budget carefully. He is not responsible for floods and famines and other devastating circumstances. He has no control over the elements, but he has control over the finances. I think from a perusal of the budget it will be seen that it is a clear exposition of our finances. It will be seen from his budget speech that this is the first occasion on which the Finance Department itself is responsible for the estimates.”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“ Revised estimates.”

Mr. A. E. RENCONTRE :—“ I submit that it is a step in the right direction. It will also be seen that a system is being introduced by which, in future, every officer who has control of expenditure of money has to submit a report from time to time not only of expenditure incurred by him but also by his subordinates. The result would be that the Finance Department would be exercising more and more careful control over the finances of the Presidency. This step will, in effect, be a concurrent audit throughout the year and, the Finance Department will also be able to gauge the needs of the department concerned by getting such reports from its officers. The question really is how to find ways and means for cutting down the deficit. We all hope that there will be some relief as pointed out by several hon. Members given by the Central Government in the matter of the remission of our contributions to that Government. That wind-fall no doubt will help in not only showing a surplus, but will also cover the deficit. Now, the question is what is to happen in future years. There is a system of financing which is well-known among our Indian fellow-subjects and I do not see why it should not be adapted to the needs of the Government. I refer to the chit fund system. This chit fund system is well-known among our Indian fellow-subjects. It is very popular, and it is an indigenous system. I know that a lot of money is being procured in this way. In fact in almost every Government office, commercial firm and railway company and so forth, the clerks get together and resort to this system for finding money for various purposes. I even know that in various Indian households they make use of this system for buying jewels and cloths and even for running small enterprises. This system is very similar to the Continental system, and, if in France, Belgium and other countries they can resort to such a system for finding money, I do not see why the financial experts of our Government should not also consider such a system and make use of it. As matters stand, this system is not under any legal control as far as I know. Therefore what frequently happens is that the poor subscribers are put to very great difficulties by the stakeholders. If such a system is adopted by the Government, I am sure, it will become a national system being so popular among the classes as well as masses and I think the Government will find this a perennial spring from which they will be able to get a regular supply of money, for at least running the vital departments of our province, viz., Sanitation and Education.

[Mr. A. E. Rencontre]

[6th March 1925]

"Passing on to the budget itself, I am very glad to see that a provision has been made for constructing a new Small Cause Court in the 12-30 p.m. Presidency town. I know the difficulties the Judges, Members of the Bar, litigants and witnesses are being put to for want of suitable accommodation. Corridors are crowded, and there is a good deal of noise in consequence of want of accommodation. By reason of increase of Judges of the High Court, there is need for suitable accommodation. I hope that when the new building is constructed, its acoustic properties will be attended to, because frequently it happens that people are not able to hear what is going on there.

"Passing on to the Forest department, a department which generally comes in for a good deal of criticism, in my opinion, the time is not far distant when this department is going to bring in the greatest revenue. It has been remarked by the hon. Member, Dr. Mathai, that most of our revenues is inelastic. I believe that the time will come when, by exploitation of timber, the revenue we get from forests will considerably increase, and will also be of great use to cover the loss that we are suffering in excise. Revenue will have to be found to cover the loss caused by reason of the excise policy pursued and gradually excise may not bring in any revenue at all. I am glad to find that forest panchayats are working satisfactorily. It is very desirable that there should be co-operation between the forest officers and the ryots. The ryots are taking interest in the land allowed to them and by this relationship between the officers and the ryots, I think there will be less of prosecution, and fine for infringement of forest laws.

"Sir, in conclusion, I wish to say a few words on European education. I saw from the local papers that under the chairmanship of the hon. the Home Member, a conference was held. I hope that one of the results of the conference will be that the education given to the domiciled community will be suited to its needs. The problem of education relating to the community has to be faced and the sooner it is solved, the better. It is no use allowing the solution to chance. From my intimate knowledge of the community, I think the most suitable kind of education is industrial education. Such education will enable young men of the community to be better able to meet the struggle for existence which is growing keener and keener every year. Sir, in conclusion, I echo the hope expressed by the hon. the Finance Member that the remission of the contribution will be a boon, and the path of progress will be made clear."

* Rao Bahadur P. RAMAN :—"Mr. President, Sir, I wish to add a few observations to the general discussion of the budget. I would touch only on the fringes of education and excise inasmuch as what I intended to say has already been said by some of the hon. Members who preceded me.

"The people of Malabar are unanimous in their wish for a first-grade college in Malabar. The only difference among them is on the point of its location. Some want the college in Palghat by raising the Government Victoria second-grade college of that station to a first-grade college. Others want it in Tellicherry by raising the Government Brennen second-grade college of that station. But this is a matter that can be considered and settled when sanction is accorded by Government for a first-grade college. A year has well nigh passed after the matter has seriously been broached, and I pray that the question may be settled as early as practicable.

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[Mr. P. Raman]

"In this connexion, I would bring another matter also for consideration. The Agricultural School at Taliparamba is the only institution of the kind on the West Coast. It is a residential school where the boys live and dine together. There is only one kitchen and one dining hall. When certain Tiyya boys sought admission they were not given admission as the Nayar boys who were orthodox objected on account of messing and other difficulties and there was the fear of their leaving the school. When the matter was made subject of an interpellation in the Council in October 1924 the hon. the Minister for Development stated 'the alternative is to provide separate residential quarters for students who are not Nayars. The question of providing such quarters is under the consideration of Government.' If it be not possible to entertain other than Nayar boys in a public residential school like this, managed and maintained by Government, I would request the hon. the Minister to see that the contemplated separate residential quarters are soon provided and facilities afforded to all that seek admission to acquire scientific knowledge in agriculture which is the backbone of our country. This residential school has been in existence for about four years I believe, and it is not clear why no provision for admission of other than Nayar boys has yet been made.

"On the Excise side I take only toddy for remarks now. It is no doubt heavily taxed. Tree-tax has been enhanced in South Kanara and Malabar from 1st October 1923—vide page 18 of the budget memorandum. Why this was done is not clear. Toddy is the poor man's drink and unless total prohibition is introduced he should be allowed to have his drink with as less cost as possible, especially in these hard days. Consumption is best decreased by educating the masses and happily the hon. the Education Minister is able to open a large number of elementary schools. I hope this step will have the desired effect.

"Again the system of renting or selling out toddy shops by auction is, in my humble opinion, not conducive to the welfare of those who trade in toddy. It is a well-known fact that in auctions the bidders sometimes lose their heads, and in the excitement of the moment they do not feel that they are drifting beyond their depth. The result is they bid and knock down shops for sums much higher than what they can realize by sales of toddy therein and they thus bring down ruin on themselves and their family. It will be said that this is their own fault. But I think the system is to blame first, for, but for it, there will be no auction.

"I conclude with a request that the licence fee for the manufacture of toddy (tree-tapping) be reduced and that some system of licensing or selling toddy shops other than auction be substituted. If I am asked to suggest any, I would say that tenders for each shop separately or farming of a whole taluk to one man as in the old days, if reversion is possible, may be tried. In the latter case only men of substance will go in and the loss if any, will not be much felt by them."

* **MR. MUHAMMAD GHOUSE MIAN SAHIB** :—"Mr. President, Sir, I wish to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member in presenting this year a budget showing the real state of affairs. Last year, a surplus budget had been manipulated as the hon. the Finance Member wanted to show a surplus budget. There was nothing standing in his way to show that. The budget that is presented to us now is satisfactory taking into consideration the state of affairs. One of the methods of considering the budget is to go back to the promises made by the hon. Members of the Treasury Bench last year, and

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see how far they have fulfilled those promises. In considering the budget in the way in which I have prefaced, I should take into consideration one department after another, the Law Department, the Departments of Education and Local Self-Government.

"As regards the Law Department, the hon. the Law Member said that he would introduce shortly an amending Bill to the Civil Courts Bill by means of which he would cut short and effect retrenchment in the number of additional courts and I am glad to say that he has fulfilled his promise which he made last year.

"But instead of stopping short there, he could have, I think, gone a step further and unified all the sub-courts existing in the district centres along with District Judges' Courts. The scheme I wish to place, is like this. In a district there are more than one Subordinate Judge's Court. The amending Bill cuts short only Additional Subordinate Judges' Courts and District Munsifs' Courts. It might have gone further and cut short all the Subordinate Judges' Courts in every district, and the establishments might be amalgamated with the District Courts. It can profitably be done like this. Most of the work which a Subordinate Judge is empowered to do in a district centre is the same kind of work which a District Judge does. I should explain my position very clearly. In a district centre the Subordinate Judge functions the same business, hearing appeals, etc., as the District Judge does. The jurisdiction and value of the suits are the same in both the courts. The Subordinate Judge is also invested with the power of disposing of miscellaneous petitions, etc. Only in the matter of sessions work purely, the courts are functioning differently. It would have been much better if, in district centres, the Subordinate Judges' Courts and the District Courts are made to function together on the lines suggested by the last amending Bill. That is the first suggestion I wish to make for the consideration of the Law Member.

"Another grievance which is felt, is the question of juniors and seniors. In this matter we know that the juniors do not get any benefit by working under the seniors. The period which the juniors spend to get training from seniors, is a period of rest and leisure, and they do not at all learn anything practical.

"For these reasons I would suggest to the hon. the Law Member the desirability of opening practical courses in the Law College itself. The present period of two years for the course may be made three years and in the third year he may be given such training as is necessary for him in the practical application of his legal knowledge.

"Another matter which I wish to put forward for the consideration of the hon. the Law Member is with regard to the inspection of courts, which is at present done by the High Court Judges and the District Judges once a year. May I suggest that an Inspector of Courts may be appointed on the analogy of the Inspector of local boards and municipalities. He would go and enquire and see whether the records are being properly kept and whether the judicial officers are honest and whether justice has not been sacrificed.

"I want to place one or two facts before the hon. the Minister for Education for his consideration, regarding the elementary education and secondary education. First of all there is the District Educational Council which controls the education and then there is the District Secondary Education Board. Lastly there is the University. Last year the hon. the Minister told

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us that if he had six lakhs he would be able to open schools in all villages with a population of more than 500 each. A large sum was voted last year and this year also a large sum has been voted and in spite of it there are not more than 800 schools. The hon the Minister also promised that the Elementary Education Act would be so amended as to afford greater facilities, and that also has not been done yet. But before the Bill to amend the Elementary Education Act is brought before the Council, certain important changes must be taken into consideration in the nature of education. In the elementary schools the text-books used must teach first of all the history and geography of the locality in which the school is situated before it teaches about matters outside the district.

"The District Educational Councils must be given the power to form separate text-book committees for their districts and conduct examinations. They must teach the history and geography of their own districts before they teach those of others and the arithmetic must teach first of all the local weights and measures. Elementary education must be such as to suit the local needs. I request the hon. the Minister for Education to kindly consider the advisability of establishing local text-book committees to prepare suitable text-books.

"Coming to the Secondary Education Board, as at present constituted, it is no more than an advisory body. Power must be given to the body to initiate new schemes. Some power to manage the affairs of the teachers in all the private schools also must be given to the boards. Then the working of the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Board is not at all clear to any of us. Instead of having one standard for the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate students of all the schools in the presidency, I wish the hon. the Minister for Education to consider the advisability of dividing the presidency into three or four linguistic areas, constitute a separate board for each and give that board the entire management of the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate examination.

"Lastly there is one other matter. I for one, want that there must be sectional or communal schools for each community in the lower standards at least up to the third form. It is a matter for consideration for the Government, for this reason that in the sectional schools we would be in a position to give education to our children in religious matters and create in them a religious fervour, which we cannot do in the ordinary schools. We do not want sectional schools in the higher forms. Considering also the backward state of education among the Muhammadans, it is a matter for consideration whether we should not centralize Muhammadan education just like the European schools.

"Coming now to the Local Self-Government department, I am sorry to see the deplorable state of the collection of taxes by the municipalities after the introduction of the reforms. Out of eighty municipalities in the presidency, not one of them has collected all the taxes. With regard to the collection of taxes in the municipalities, I may suggest to the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government that a system similar to that of the collection of land revenue by Government may be adopted. I understand that there was a proposal in the air to the effect that the collection of the arrears in the municipalities might be left to the deputy collectors of those subdivisions. If that is done, I am sure the finances of the municipalities would not present such a large percentage of uncollected taxes. Further there is one difficulty

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which many municipal chairmen are experiencing in this matter of collection of taxes. If it is insisted that before the Electoral Roll is prepared all those that want to be included in the roll should have paid their taxes, it would encourage payment promptly. I am glad, Sir, that in 1923 Government passed an order asking the municipal tax collectors to issue a certificate to be appended to any application for being included in the Electoral Roll. If this has been strictly adhered to, more taxes would have been collected and there would not have been much arrears. Another reason for this state of arrears is that the municipal chairmen do not understand the importance of the provision 146A of the Municipal Code. Then these municipal councils must send bills every month showing their demand and prepare balance sheets. These matters must take their own time and if only the municipalities are very careful and prompt in collecting the taxes, much of the odium that attaches to the Local Self-Government department will disappear.

"Another matter for the consideration of the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government is the opening of health associations in all the municipalities.

"Lastly one word about the railway-cess. A large sum of money has been collected by the various district boards by way of railway-cess. The district boards are not using the sum for opening feeder railways and the money is lying idle in some bank or other. Opening of feeder lines is now a Provincial subject. I see that some of the district boards are now considering the question of opening feeder lines and I hope that the railway-cess will be utilized for this purpose."

Rao Sahib K. V. RAMACHARI:—"Mr. President, Sir, the budget that is now presented to the Council is a deficit budget and I may say that neither the hon. the Finance Member nor anybody else is responsible for it. It is merely the outcome of the existing condition of the finances. I am confident that His Excellency the Governor, the hon. Members of the Executive Council and the hon. the Ministers are doing their best for the good of this province. If we want India to march abreast of other civilized nations of the world, if we want the economic condition of the province to improve, ample provision must be made for the nation-building departments. It is a well-known fact that the economic improvement of every country depends on a satisfactory development of her industries. If one looks into the history of any civilized country, he will invariably find that my statement is not untrue. If the economic condition of this province is to be improved, three things must be given special attention to. The iniquitous provincial contributions must be abolished, there must be retrenchment in proper directions, and industrial education and industrial development on proper lines must be encouraged.

"The Development department has not been useful because it is practically not giving its attention to industries which are already being carried on in the province such as weaving, carpentry and so on. It is giving its attention to such trivial and unimportant industries as Fisheries, Tanning and so on. My earnest desire is that proper attention must be bestowed on cottage and other industries which are of a productive value. By way of illustration, I can take up the gilding and lace industry. Some years ago it was an indigenous industry and was carried on all over the presidency for a number of centuries. The importation of gold threads and lace from France has led to the deterioration of this industry. After all, it is the cottage industry which can be useful to the

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inhabitants of this presidency in a very great degree. I can give you an idea of the enormous nature of the business which France is carrying on with India at present. I can say, roughly, that about 50,000 bundles of gold thread are being imported from France into this presidency every month. If you take the value of imported goods, it comes to about more than 10 lakhs of rupees every month. This industry consists of four processes. All these processes are very easy. There is one process called the golding process which is rather a very easy process which the people of this presidency are able to know very easily. In this connexion, I may say that some years ago a Gold Thread Factory was established at Perambur with the aid of a French gentleman who entered into a contract with the employers to work for a certain number of years. The factory was going on for some time and when the French gentlemen left the Indian shores the factory came to a close. During all the time the French gentlemen were working, they kept the golding process as a secret one, but a few people have come to know of it and the factory is going on now under different management. At the commencement, the factory was working very profitably. Now it is not so, because people who deal in gold thread get it rather cheaply by smuggling the goods from Pondicherry. The point is this: the duty is very high in the British ports. It is something like 30 to 35 per cent and so the value of a high standard of gold thread will come to about Rs. 50. So, they save about Rs. 15 by importing the thread in a French port and that is why they are smuggling the goods into the British territory from a French port. By resorting to this method, they are able to undersell the goods manufactured in the factory at Perambur to a very large extent and thus get very good profit. This kind of smuggling is being carried on for the past few years and in spite of the efforts put forth by the Government they have not been able to check it and I do hope that Government will take effective measures to put a stop to this practice, and see that the factory which is now going on is stimulated and made useful to the public. If this industry is encouraged and if it becomes a cottage industry, I confidently say that a large section of the agricultural population who spend their time in idleness when they are not engaged in agricultural operations will be much benefited. This is an industry which does not involve a large amount of capital and I hope Government will see that it is made a cottage industry.

“Coming to another industry, viz., the dyeing industry, which has been carried on on a large scale by means of vegetable dyes and other means has been completely killed by the importation of alizarine and aniline colours, chemicals and so on from Germany. There is the British Alizarine Company which is doing a very large amount of business, and I may say that the whole business is monopolized by German firms, three or four in number. These firms are large importers of dye stuff. I can give you an idea by saying that the imported dye stuff comes to about 12,000 cwt. and big centres like Kumbakonam and Salem consume another 15,000 or 20,000 cwt. I can, roughly, say that the quantity imported into this province is about 30,000 cwt. Over and above this, we get a large quantity of aniline colours, chemicals and other colours from Germany and other places. If the Development department takes care to give expert knowledge to the people of this province and open some model factories for demonstrating the manufacture of these dye stuffs, the people of this presidency will be greatly benefited, and private companies will spring up to take up the manufacture of these products. I believe time has now come for the attainment of these objects.

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As there is a proposal and probably a reduction in the contribution to the Central Government, any amount that can be saved can be utilized in the ways enumerated above, and I am sure in the course of a few years this province will get so much profit out of this industry that it will be able to take up other industries besides the two industries which I have suggested above."

Rao Bahadur A. S. KRISHNA RAO PANTULU: "I do not propose to follow the customary practice of either offering congratulations to the Government or hurling denunciations on the hon. the Finance Member for the presentation of this budget because I take it that the combined Government is responsible for the budget, and he is only a spokesman. The budget that has been presented to us gives us a clear idea of our provincial finances and if we carefully analyse the figures, one cannot but feel that unless the methods are changed and unless new venues are explored, we are likely to lead to bankruptcy.

"It will be remembered that much of financial embarrassment which we witness to-day is largely due to the changing attitude of Government from time to time. If this problem had been tackled with boldness and with statesmanship which is expected from Government, things must have been different. In early decades ending with 1910-11, we find Government adopted a policy of false economy and parsimony which admittedly led to the unjust treatment of the Government with regard to their provincial finances at the hands of the Government of India. It was only in the decade ending with 1911 that you found the Finance Member of the Government of Madras opening his eyes to the previous policy he pursued and he then exclaimed at length that 'our economy has led to this injustice at the hands of the Government of India.' If we examine the figures according to the pre-reform classification, it will be found that the unfair provincial settlement has led to the looting of the provincial revenues for the sake of other provincial Governments. The figures show that during the decade 1910-11 the difference between revenue and expenditure according to pre-reform classification came to about 38.81 crores, for the decade 1910-11 it was 45.91 crores and for the decade 1920-21, 50.66 crores. The total of the additional revenue which, if realized, if a settlement like the one in force were adopted, would be 135.38 crores which might be roughly taken to be the extent to which provincial finances have been utilized for the benefit of other provinces during the last 30 years leading to the period of reforms. Sir, I must say that this Government has been making very mild representations and did not make effective protests from time to time; otherwise things must have been different. When we come to the question of provincial contribution year after year, our Government have been making representations but all in vain. A sister province like Bengal has stolen a march over us. If the example followed by the spokesman of Bombay were followed by our Government, things would have been different. When the attitude of Government of India was not fair towards the Government of Bombay, the spokesman of that province said 'I shall not proceed with the Court Fees Bill pending consideration of this question'.

"If, instead of adopting the course we have adopted, we had chosen that attitude, better results would have been arrived at. Our Government mildly and tamely submitted to the action of the Government of India, while at the same time having recourse to enhanced

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registration fees from 1st March 1922. They got the Court-fees and the Stamp Acts amended and collected additional sums by way of court-fees and stamp fees. Realize, Sir, at the same time that the land tax is the heaviest in this province. In introducing the budget for 1923-1924, the hon. the Finance Member then admitted that our province was collecting the highest rates so far collected under excise or land revenue. Notwithstanding that, we adopted a policy of retrenchment. Various measures were resorted to. When the Local Government took this attitude without taking the lesson given by the Government of Bombay, the Government of India probably thought that Madras did not need any remission and allowed things to go in the same condition. I think we are largely to be blamed for this state of things. And before we proceed further, I must justify my statement that if these measures are adopted we are likely to run into bankruptcy. We can only come to that conclusion if we examine the growth of expenditure in this country during the last fifteen years. I shall, for the present, take a period of ten years leading up to the reforms, and consider also the growth of the expenditure subsequent to the reforms. Compared with the parsimony and economy of the twenty years prior to 1910-11, we find from 1910-11 the idea has grown that we must change our methods, that we must show more expenditure. And what do we find? Have our revenues progressed along with our expenditure? We find that even according to the old classification, for the decade ending with 1920-21, the revenue has increased from 701.32 lakhs to 953.87 lakhs, that is, by 252.55 lakhs or at 25 lakhs per year. Comparatively for the same decade the expenditure has increased from 671.93 to 1,101.02 lakhs, that is, by 429 lakhs. If we take the classification subsequent to the reforms, the revenue has increased from 1,179 lakhs to 1,560, that is, by 381 lakhs, while the expenditure has gone up from 687 lakhs to 1,130 lakhs, that is, by 443 lakhs. The period of four years prior to the reforms was a period of abnormal increase in expenditure and we have reached a stage when the normal expenditure has been growing out of all proportion to the revenue, when we must have cried halt. We must make a pause and examine whether if such methods were continued we are likely to have a state of financial solvency. When we come to the period under the reforms, the tale is more woeful. The revenue has increased from 1,560 lakhs in 1920-21 to 1,631.07 in 1924-25, that is, by only 71 lakhs. The expenditure has increased from 1,130 lakhs in 1921 to 1,651 in 1925. There has thus been an abnormal increase of expenditure due to various causes. Having budgeted for surpluses in an unjustifiable manner, the Government went to the other extreme of going on continuously budgeting for deficits, for the last four years. In 1924-25 the total deficit which we have provided for amounted to 226.76 lakhs and in the years 1919-20 and 1920-21 the deficits stood at 151.51, thus making the total of 378.27 lakhs. This increase is enough to indicate that the policy of continuously providing for deficit budgets, the policy of making the normal expenditure far exceed the revenue is a policy which must be carefully warded against and if persisted in must lead us to further financial embarrassment. I am aware that much of it is due partly to the Public Services Commission, and partly to the recommendations of the Lee Commission. Various proposals have been made from time to time as to reductions effected in respect of salaries. Even this morning the suggestion was made by more than one hon. Member in this House. I feel bound to state that I would not be a party to any decrease of salaries either in the case of one officer or another unless the process is begun from the top of

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the administration. There is no use of saying that the reduction in the case of the Executive Councillors and Ministers is going to give us only a few lakhs, and that if you are going to the services below, a larger amount can be realized. There is no use of arguing from that standpoint. If it is argued that the Public Services Commission have conferred a certain status and a certain salary and if it is suggested, as some have suggested, that the pruning knife should be applied to the case of lower officers and not in the case of the higher ones, it is a position which I cannot appreciate. If we have to apply the pruning knife beginning from the Executive Councillors and going down below, I think there will be a sort of consensus of opinion in the country and not otherwise.

"Sir, I do not propose within this short time at my disposal to enter into any elaborate discussion as to the source where retrenchment can be effected. I can go into it at the time of voting of grants. But there is a still greater reason and that is speaking from my experience for the last three or four years. I have been feeling a sort of helplessness in successfully effecting any retrenchment in the budget. And this is due to various causes. Whether it affects the Reserved or the Transferred departments, there are factors operating which would leave the portions of the budget safe. So long as the conditions under which we are working continue to operate, I feel diffident as to whether we can work successfully in effecting radical retrenchment. I think that unless it is possible for us to view all these questions in the proper perspective, it will not be possible for us to reduce the expenditure to any appreciable extent. We go on discussing during the ten days allotted for the detailed discussion all questions of policy but when we come to the question of voting reductions, unless our methods are changed, unless the various parties here adopt different methods, I am not hopeful of effecting any reduction. That is why I do not propose to make any suggestion at present though I have my own proposals to make. I wish only to make a few remarks on two subjects.

"First about irrigation. The hon. the Law Member was very enthusiastic when he introduced the Irrigation Bill in February 1924 and assured us that he was trying to make provision in the current year for big irrigation works. That hope is now forlorn. We find that practically there has been a decrease of expenditure so far as the current year is concerned in this direction. Coming to the particular cases provided for, we find the Mettur project is one. No other project referred to in the course of the discussion of the Bill is provided for. In the course of his speech introducing the Irrigation Bill, the hon. Member referred to the Sangameswaram project and the Tungabhadra project. He stated subsequently that if it were not possible to push through the Sangameswaram project owing to difficulties in negotiating with His Exalted Highness the Nizam, he would at least push through the old Tungabhadra project. I refer to the *old* Tungabhadra project because I find from the proceedings of the Council that some statement is made regarding the scope of the project as described by the Irrigation Commission. The report of the Irrigation Commission and subsequent investigations show that the old project covered not only the Ceded districts, but also Nellore which was included by the Commission in the famine zone. But the subsequent statement made by the hon. the Law Member has left out the district of Nellore which was within the scope of the Commission's report. There has been a mistake somewhere. But whatever that be, the hon. Member himself assured us that if he could not afford to

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push through the Sangameswaram project, he would push through the *old* Tungabhadra project. Has there been any difficulty felt by the hon. Member in pushing it through from the stage at which it has been left? I take this opportunity to press upon him the immediate necessity of his taking this up.

"Then, Sir, a word about district board railways. I wish to inform the hon. the Home Member that even in the provincial budget there is a provision made for railways. I am referring to page 70 of the Financial Statement where provision is made for loans to district board railways. I am stating this in connexion with the general budget discussion for there can be no point of order raised that in the course of a general budget discussion of this kind it is not open to hon. Members to suggest that such and such a provision is too meagre and that more money should be provided. So long as loans to particular boards have been here, it is open to the district boards which have schemes of railway expansion, which have already accumulated several lakhs of rupees to say that the railway policy of the Government is not just or fair. Sir, it is very unfortunate that so far as this province which has been the pioneer in the matter of district board railways is concerned, no progress in the direction could be made. It is more than 27 years ago since the railway-cess has been introduced and various district boards have been accumulating the cess. There are various district boards feeling keenly the difficulty for want of railways. There are various district boards which have to their credit accumulated cess to the extent of nearly two crores and with projects extending to a length of 830 miles. But it has not been possible for them to push through these undertakings owing to the attitude of the Government. I wish to ask, before I proceed, whether the Government in accordance with the Devolution Rules have taken any steps for the purpose of legislating for the light and feeder railways. At page 136 of the Manual, you will find that among the Transferred subjects are included tramways within municipal areas, light and feeder railways and extra municipal tramways, in so far as provision for their construction and management is made by provincial legislation, subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature. I do not know, Sir, if any steps have been taken for the purpose of taking full control over these railways and I fear that when time comes there will be an impediment in the way of proceeding further."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I do not know whether the hon. Member is right in addressing me. I should like to point out that as he has already mentioned, it is Provincial subject—Transferred, and I suggest that the hon. Member addresses the Minister concerned."

Rao Bahadur A. S. KRISHNA RAO PANTULU:—"I would have done so, Sir, but for the fact that my attention would be drawn to the order that every Member must face the Chair while speaking. Because the hon. Minister was at considerable distance from me, I could not face him and speak. (Laughter).

"Next I wish to point out that the discussion which took place in the Government of India when dealing with this question is an eye-opener as to the policy of the Government in this matter. It will be found that Mr. Sim in reply to the resolution of Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar makes us more hopeless as to the possibility of expecting the Government to help the development of district board railways. I wish to know whether before framing their resolutions on the subject the Government of India consulted the Local Government and whether the Local Government have determined in what

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lines or direction help will be given to the district boards, whether the resolution of the Government of India was published without the consultation of either the hon. the Home Member or the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government. This is an important matter. In the course of the discussion it was stated that under certain conditions district boards will not be prevented from pushing through these railways. He stated in as clear terms as possible that district boards would be treated as private companies, that the boards could not find all the money necessary in the market that they could not construct as well as the Government could and that the policy would be discouraged. I wish to know whether Local Government has been consulted in the matter. For I find at the end of his speech, Mr. Sim said that if the Government showed a desire, a special officer would be sent for the purpose. Whether he thought that consultation is to follow is the point to be considered. If no consultation was made, the blame rests with the Government of India and it is certainly unfair that in a matter concerning the district board railways regarding which Madras was the pioneer, the Central Government should have formulated a resolution without consulting the Local Government. And I would, before closing, make a vigorous plea that the hon. the Minister would take all possible steps for pushing through the construction of district board railways."

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAU :—" Mr. President, Sir, this is the fifth budget of the Government after the reforms. In the course of the debate, great anxiety has been exhibited by the hon. the Leader of the House in saying that a particular portion of the budget belonged to the Ministers and another particular portion to the Reserved half. That is not the standard with which we look at the budget. We sit in opposition not only to the Reserved half but to the Transferred half as well. The budget as presented is one consolidated budget on behalf of the Government and not of this portion of the Government or that portion of the Government, and we presume that even according to the Devolution Rules when on a budget the Reserved half and the Transferred half do not agree they have got the right to demand allocation of funds. (Hear, hear.) As long as that rule is not resorted to, we are justified in presuming that this budget is a consolidated budget approved by the Cabinet and it is to be supported by the whole Ministerial party through their Ministers regarding every detail. I believe that shall be the standard of working the dyarchy so long as we can possibly work it.

" Sir, when I first received the budget, the outer cover led me to believe that we are reaching the Parliamentary system very soon. (Hear, hear.) It is made to appear as if it were a Parliamentary blue-book. And when I read the figures, I found a sort of relief in the naked presentation of the figures. I found that the magic wand was no longer at work and the figures were presented in their nakedness and they portrayed the financial position of the province in all its deplorable condition. No doubt last year our experts in economics said that it was a hopeful budget and this year too I believe the Finance Member calls it a hopeful budget. But I would only request our experts and the hon. the Finance Member to view the budget from the standpoint of the Devolution Rules. We have nothing to do with the ideals of economics. We are given a set of Devolution Rules, and the budget is to be within these limits. In the first instance, I would draw the attention of the hon. the Finance Member to the closing and the opening

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balances. I believe he is simply carrying the balances of the famine account as the closing and opening balances of his budget, as the figures do tally. But my question is this. Is it not necessary for any Finance Member to keep the working balance separate from the balance of any special fund? We know that the Famine fund is a special fund, and the whole of it may be resorted to if the times do require it and under those circumstances, is he not bound to maintain a separate working balance apart from the Famine fund?"

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" May I know, Sir, what the hon. Member's objection is, whether he considers the form in which the figure is given is deceptive, or whether he objects to the fact that there is any working balance?"

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—" I have said no such thing. I already said that the magic wand is gone and I may be permitted to say that we have an honest presentation of the figures of the budget of the Madras Presidency for the first time. (Hear, hear.) Sir, it is the duty of the Finance Member to maintain a separate working balance apart from any special funds. Here the Famine fund is a separate fund, the whole of which may be resorted to any moment by my friends from the Ceded districts, where there are famines always, and we do not know if the whole of the Rs. 20 lakhs that is provided there as the closing balance may be demanded during the course of the year. What is it they are going to do when such an exigency arises regarding the working balance? Therefore my submission is that they must maintain a working balance of either 3 per cent or 2 per cent of the total receipts. Now, Sir, one figure, namely, the equated payment on account of the provincial loan account, Rs. 9.50 lakhs, is shown as expenditure under the loan account. According to the Devolution Rules, 23 to 26, it is clearly stated that this amount must be allocated from the revenues of the province. If that be the case, your deficit balance will be not only 88 lakhs but 9.50 lakhs more, that is, nearly a crore of rupees on the whole. It may be said that year after year they have been doing it, and the Government of India are permitting them to put this amount from the borrowed amounts, and that that is the reason why they are allowing it to remain like that. But I say that the Government of India perhaps on account of the financial distress in this Presidency for which they are responsible might have shut their eyes. But hereafter they cannot do so because they have consented to slightly reduce our contribution, and therefore they may hereafter enforce the financial rules more stringently, and it is the duty of the Finance Department to be more vigilant and keep this matter clear. You have allowed in the past portions of the Rs. 9.50 lakhs to be paid out of borrowed amounts. The rules clearly say that you should allocate this amount from the revenue account. If that be the case, our financial position is much worse.

"Now, Sir, the first impression which one will have when he examines this budget is that the Government is under the impression that they can use any necessary funds from borrowed capital. The first distinct rule is that it is the duty of the Finance Department to see whether the purpose for which borrowed capital is utilized is productive or unproductive. As far as the productive purposes are concerned, I have not got any dispute with regard to them, but the difficulty really comes in in all cases where the object is of an unproductive nature. Most of the budget figures, so far as the borrowed amounts are concerned, may be safely said to be for unproductive purposes."



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and I think the hon. the Minister for Public Works—it is a transferred subject, I believe—wants to utilize Rs. 20 lakhs for buildings under various headings. Are they productive?”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“They yield rent.”

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“Sir, I do not know what he means by saying that they yield rent. He is going to utilize Rs. 3 lakhs and odd for the medical buildings at Vizagapatam. Am I to understand that they will yield rent? Here again he is going to utilize Rs. 1 lakh for the jail at Bellary.”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“I am afraid, Sir, there is confusion as usual. When I said that they yield rent, I meant only those buildings that are constructed for purposes of officials' quarters. The other buildings are necessary for different purposes.”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“Yes, Sir, as far as borrowed money is concerned to which I was referring, there is not a single item of buildings of the nature of quarters. Most of the items are these. The medical buildings at Vizagapatam, the jail at Bellary, the Small Cause Court at Madras and so on. All these are unproductive works and they do not yield any rent. By some jugglery, the Finance Department once made a rule that all buildings costing more than Rs. 5 lakhs should be classified as unproductive works.

“I believe they can reduce the maximum from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 1 lakh.

1.45 p.m. Now they want to call all those costing more than Rs. 1 lakh as unproductive. Let them be pleased to do as they like. My formula is this: you have got a limit to your borrowing capacity. Having regard to the instalments you have to pay, having regard to your liability to pay interest, you cannot borrow more than eight times the surplus of your revenues. That is my proposition. If the budget shows a surplus of Rs. 3 lakhs, you can borrow Rs. 24 lakhs. That is the limit which the Devolution Rules impose. You will please see and examine if my proposition is not correct. That being so, you cannot say the Government of India is not coming to your rescue and that you have to borrow. They have not left you unchecked. You have got the limitation under the Devolution Rules.”

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“I am not able to follow the hon. Member.”

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“I am sorry the hon. the Finance Member is not able to follow me. My proposition is this: the Devolution Rules do say that in all cases where you are borrowing money for unproductive works it shall be repaid in instalments. There is a maximum number of instalments fixed under the rules.”

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“Where is the maximum number of instalments laid down?”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“Devolution Rule No. 23 about the Provincial Loan Account. That means, regarding unproductive works the borrowing capacity of the Local Government is limited not only on account of the payment of interest but also on account of the payment of instalments. If you take both into consideration, it can never exceed eight times your surplus revenue. Now you propose to borrow one crore. Where is the surplus revenue, so that you can borrow? How are you going to pay

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next year, if you borrow one crore, the six lakhs of rupees of interest and the instalment of Rs. 6 lakhs? Where is the Rs. 12 lakhs to come from? So, I think it is a complete misunderstanding of the Devolution Rules and a deviation from all statutory limitations that are placed upon the Government. As long as the Government of India is going to shut their eyes to this, of course you may dabble in these figures, and you do not know where you will be if you are to raise the money in the open market or otherwise.

"Now, Sir, our economic expert says that our revenues are not elastic. I am not able to agree with him. As regards land revenue anybody who examines the figures since the year 1921 will see that the growth of revenue every year is more than 11 lakhs, and it has to be recognized that out of the Rs. 600 and odd lakhs of land revenue nearly one-third is due to permanent settlement and the remaining two-thirds is on account of ryotwari settlement. Yet they do give an average annual growth of Rs. 11 lakhs, and I do not think he will be justified in calling land revenue as inelastic so long as the present land revenue settlement is allowed to go on.

"Then, there is another thing which determines the borrowing capacity of the Government. If their revenues are such that they can increase automatically year after year, then they can budget every year for borrowed capital. As regards the other items of revenue, stamp, registration and other things, they are also in a minor manner growing revenues. One is not therefore justified in characterizing these revenues as inelastic. But they must make up their minds to utilize the growing revenues as the basis for borrowing, provided also that they cut short the expenditure as much as possible.

"The only redeeming feature of this budget is that the hon. the Finance Member has said that it has involved a fresh application of the axe to all expenditure. That means he is not as hopeless as some members seem to be for retrenchment. Therefore, retrenchment is to be practised and the borrowing capacity of the Government is to be clearly kept in view and the budgets must be prepared within those limits. Advertence has already been made to the great haste with which the hon. the Law Member has pioneered the Irrigation Bill. The Council passed the Irrigation Bill in December 1924. Until to-day nothing is heard about it. I do not know what is being hatched. I do not know why there is so much delay in obtaining the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Viceroy. If we remember right, when he pioneered the Irrigation Bill, he said that it was absolutely necessary to have the Bill introduced even for the budget of 1924-25. But he has not found it necessary that it should become law even for the budget of 1925-26. At least he found it necessary to say so, so that the whole of the Ceded districts, including Cuddapah and Nellore, may be made to flow with milk and honey."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"I am afraid that a superstition often takes a very long time to die. I am glad the Leader of the Opposition affords me this opportunity of giving a personal explanation. The Bill that has been passed through the Council has presented some difficulties. It has been sent round to various local officers to enable us to find out exactly how it will work. If they tell us, and we are convinced, that it will be all right, there will be no further delay."

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—"I am not concerned with what inner wheels the hon. the Law Member is working. We only know of the advice available to him before and all through the stages of the Bill."

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* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—“ That advice was no doubt available before the Bill passed through this House. But practically each one of the hon. Members of this House was strong or influential enough to get certain amendments which pleased him or his group into the Bill. So it was an altered Bill. The Bill as altered in the Council is very different from the Bill introduced into the Council.”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ Regarding the various alterations in the Bill, he has to thank himself and the diarchy. That is the only reply I have to give him. Now, Sir, regarding the Irrigation Bill, after the Select Committee's sittings I offered certain remarks, and my Friend Mr. Yahya Ali happened to agree with me on many points, and we sent a joint minute of dissent. What is the result? Long before the discussion of the Irrigation Bill was again taken up, my Friend Mr. Yahya Ali deserted the Council and me and had accepted the Public Prosecutorship of Nellore under the patronage of the hon. the Law Member. (Laughter.) Just a few minutes ago, the hon. the Law Member said ‘ the Collectors want such men, they are the recommending authorities, and we have to give what they want.’ I do not think he can shirk the responsibility like that and say ‘ such and such a man made the nomination and I accepted it.’ Is it not the Government, Sir, that should take the full responsibility for appointments? If that is so, how can he for a moment say that it is because of the Collectors? With the working of those inner wheels this Council is not concerned. The hon. Member is responsible for his portfolio of law and justice, why should he say such a thing and offer his excuse to us? He is not bound to accept every recommendation from the Collector. The hon. Member cannot shirk his responsibility even in the smallest things, and he is responsible for every act that they do and he has to satisfy this Council. They may say this is the Reserved Half . . . ”

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—“ I am perfectly willing to be judged by the Council and I do not shirk my responsibility in the slightest degree. This is an appointment by the Government and not by the Law Member, and as such the Government take the responsibility for it.”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ Then, what did the Law Member do? A few months after that, the hon. the Law Member snatched away from us Mr. Venkataranga Reddi and appointed him Public Prosecutor of Kurnool. A few days later, my personal friend Mr. Hegde was appointed Public Prosecutor of South Kanara . . . ”

* Mr. M. RATNASWAMI :—“ Is this all on account of their services in the cause of the Bill? ”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ I request Mr. Ratnaswami to go through the proceedings and draw his own conclusions in the matter. I say that such a sort of distribution of patronage day after day is rather a contagious thing. I do concede it is right for the Government to have their own men appointed as public prosecutors. The hon. the Law Member is personally acquainted with them, and he might have chosen them on behalf of the Government. He has got the full opportunity to do it, and perhaps it is quite likely that he works up to the high ideals of criminal jurisprudence so that he may see that a thousand criminals are let off rather than see one innocent man hanged.

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‘ On Monday last, something was said about the patronage by the hon. the Minister for Education regarding the appointment to a Law College professorship. It was said the Committee sent up some list, some name was scored off and a new name was inserted. The Minister has got the full right to do it. (Hear, hear.) But when such a thing is openly challenged in this House, it is his duty to say which name he scored out and which name was inserted. These are facts which create an impression in this House and by which we can easily judge for ourselves whether the name which was scored out was put there wrongly. He may be . . . ”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ I may at once correct the hon. Member’s misapprehension. No name was scored out nor any other new name was introduced than those that were recommended by the College Council.”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ As to the statement of facts, I leave the question between the hon. the Minister for Education and the Ex-Minister for Development. I do not know anything about the facts. I am only saying that when an open challenge is made in the Council that a patronage was wrongly exercised, it is the duty of the hon. Member to explain it to this Council as well as to the country.”

Rao Bahadur Sir K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ Sir, I expect the hon. 2 p.m. the Leader of the Opposition would be more accurate in quoting my speech; or if he was absent when I made it he could have obtained a copy of my speech before making a reference to it. My complaint was that in the matter of the appointment the patronage was wrongly exercised and that instead of a non-Brahman a Brahman was appointed. There was no such thing as scoring off; there were 12 appointments to be made, for which 24 names were recommended.”

* Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ The facts are before the House and if the Council is satisfied with the whole thing it is well and good. Personally speaking I am not satisfied until some more information is furnished.

“ Now, I want to bring to the notice of the House one more fact. Recently I find that one of the Judges of the High Court has been appointed as a member of a committee for the selection of Commissioners under the Religious Endowments Act. My complaint is that the Judges of the High Court should never be dragged into any controversy. If really the Council or any of the Members of the Council want to express their opinion regarding the selection, it may be necessary to drag the name of the High Court Judge. He is personally credited with a judicial temper and in the heat of our discussion it may be undesirable to criticise him. I hope the hon. the Law Member and the Chief Justice will seriously consider this aspect . . . ”

Mr. B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU :—“ I would also recommend that their names should not be dragged in for criticism in the matter of appointments made by them.”

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ That stands on a quite different footing. It is even said that we cannot take away their powers, the Secretary of State or the Government of India will have to take away their powers. But so far as the administration is in their hands the Council may have something to say about them. Even there members of the Council who respect the status of the High Court Judges should not drag them into

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any controversy. While on this matter I may express the hope that the hon. the Minister in charge will soon announce the appointments made. The local papers have already done that and I hope the Minister will give the Council an opportunity to express itself on it."

The Council then adjourned for lunch.

After Lunch (2-50 p.m.).

* The hon. Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS :—" Mr. President, Sir, I regret that owing to illness I was not present in my place here on Wednesday afternoon when several hon. Members spoke on subjects connected with my department. I have, however, received notes of what they said and I will do my best to deal with the points that they raised.

"The main subject which concerns Revenue and which was mentioned by more than one member was the Land Revenue Settlement Bill. Now, with regard to that Bill, I do not think the House will expect me to make an explanation as to why that has been delayed in introduction; for that will serve no useful purpose since as I have already said the Government hope to introduce the Bill in the next August session. There will be of course ample opportunities to debate the provisions of the Bill on that occasion and I will only now refer to one or two main considerations which appear to me rather important. The first is that I would ask hon. Members, in their very natural enthusiasm, to remember the constitutional position of the Government in this matter. Land Revenue is a Reserved subject. I do not mean to suggest that it is rightly so or that it should not be so. I merely state it as a fact. That being the fact, I feel sure that hon. Members will consider how far it is open to the Government to divest themselves of the task of having a final word in making land revenue settlements. Reference was made by one or two members to the Report of the Joint Committee. Well, I think, if the report is read carefully, I have done it more than once, I cannot see that it contains any suggestion that matter which is to be brought under the purview of the legislature is something different from the existing revenue system. And it seems to me clear from the language they used that their main object was to secure that the present principles of land revenue settlement should be codified and that statutory limitations should be prescribed to executive action and that this should be done before the subject became transferred so that an unlimited and uncontrolled power of the executive action on this matter should not be liable to be used for political purposes. However that may be, as I said already, the Government have decided to introduce a revised Bill on the subject in which a control and a voice will be given to this Council to the utmost extent compatible with the administration on the Reserved side.

"The next matter mentioned by hon. Members in connexion with the Revenue Department is with regard to the grouping of villages and the reduction of village officers in consequence of such grouping. Hon. Members no doubt will remember that this was done as a consequence of the Government's acceptance, I believe, of a resolution of this House that village officers' salaries should be increased. In order to find money for that, the Government were obliged to amalgamate certain villages and the establishment had to be reduced. I cannot say that the reform has been a success. It has not improved the work of the village officers and it has certainly filled the

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villages with a number of discontented and aggrieved men which can hardly be for the good of the country. So I may say the Government is prepared to revise the measure in the direction of restoring the old incumbents to their offices, provided this does not cost any more money than is provided in the present budget. The present cost of village establishment, taking ryotwari and proprietary together, is 119 lakhs and it has been raised to that figure from 71 lakhs. The Government feel that the present expenditure is as large as is justifiable, and in making a revision they have not come to any decision whether it should be by an all-round reduction of the salaries of all classes of officers or whether it should be done by reducing the post of headman to honorary status and keep the pay of the karnam as it is. These matters, I think, might be ventilated and discussed when the House comes to the detailed grant under this head. Subject to the limitation of expenditure, the Government is quite open to reconsider the matter.

3 p.m. "From village officers I go to deputy collectors, who one Member complained had been kept at a high numerical strength, notwithstanding the reduction of work. I do not think that that is quite accurate because we find that the posts of additional deputy collectors, which used to be in most districts under the title of personal assistant deputy collectors, have been abolished except in one district, and as regards other deputy collectors the possibility of amalgamating revenue divisions so as to reduce their number has been considered in detail by Collectors and Board of Revenue, all over the Presidency, and in some cases Government have found it practicable to give effect to economies in this direction. For example, a division in Bellary and in Malabar has been abolished and the abolition of the Kavali division and of the Rayachoti division has been published for public criticism. The difficulty about this is while the House generally suggest economies of this nature, when a specific proposal is made, we find that the Member for that particular district objects."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"May I know whether there is an attempt to reduce the number of treasury deputy collectors in view of much of their work being taken over by the Imperial Bank?"

The hon. Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS:—"It is a question on which I cannot give any information. I am not acquainted with the present state of that question. To go back to divisions in other districts the question was most carefully examined and permutation and combination of taluks was suggested and it was finally found impracticable to do anything."

"With regard to the resettlement of Bellary and Anantapur on which the House expressed certain views last year, these matters have been most carefully examined by Government, and I am glad to state that they have been able to modify the orders so as to reduce the rates in the black soil area by Rs. 60,000. In these areas too, the question of remitting the accumulated arrears of revenue assessment has been examined, and we have been able to issue orders to write off a certain amount of the revenue in Gooty taluk and the rest is still under examination. I am sorry I cannot give the figures definitely at the moment. The Government has considered the case of this area with the utmost sympathy owing to a series of bad seasons they have suffered."

"The next point that I have to mention is a complaint that minor irrigation works in North Arcot have been neglected. I read this complaint with

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a great deal of pain. I was Collector of that district, and whatever I did not do, I certainly gave as much attention as I possibly could to minor irrigation works." (Laughter).

* Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR :—"As the author of that complaint, may I explain myself, Sir? When Mr. Marjoribanks was Collector of the district, people still remember kindly that he was taking a lot of interest regarding minor irrigation works, but the complaint is that they have been woefully neglected since then. In this connexion I may say that Mr. Molony who was Collector there told me not long ago that the trouble in North Arcot is mainly due to the state of the irrigation works."

* The hon. Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS :—"The fact that it is said they have been neglected is what pains me (laughter). I shall give as much information as I can on the subject. I find that during 1921-22, the average expenditure on minor irrigation works is Rs. 3,000, the average number of works 145; in 1923 the expenditure was Rs. 64,000 and the number of works proposed to be dealt with was 180; in the next year, the provision is Rs. 67,000. Now, in a district like North Arcot, which is full of tanks, it is difficult to spend any large sums because no work can be done if there is any water in the tank. But there is no doubt that the subject requires unremitting attention and the hon. Member may rest assured that I will not fail in drawing the attention of the Collector to that subject."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"The needs of the other districts also may be similarly considered." (Laughter.)

* The hon. Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS :—"The only other thing I notice was a complaint from the hon. Gentleman from South Kanara regarding the assignments of land that were made there that the people who were benefited did not develop the lands but left them waste. I understand that these inferior lands which are darkhasted for are not taken for purposes of cultivation, but for growing thatching grass and manure leaf. I shall be glad to draw the attention of the Collector to the matter and ask him if he considers that there is any harm being done by the present practice to the detriment of cultivation. I do not think there is any other matter which is brought to my notice on which I should say anything."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"May I ask the hon. the Revenue Member to say whether the Government have any intention of giving any further relief to the ryots of Tanjore and Trichinopoly in the recent re-settlements, apart from the orders they have already passed?"

* The hon. Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS :—"I don't quite follow my hon. Friend. Where a man has lost his crop he gets remission. If the hon. Member means to ask whether the Government will take steps to compensate the ryots of this or that district for economic losses, I am afraid I am obliged to answer in the negative."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"A deficit budget is peculiarly unfortunate for a Development Department whose essential functions consist in expansive progress; that is to say expansion of existing activities and progress on new lines. But facts are facts and they must be faced; and if owing to a concurrence of circumstances beyond our control, a surplus has become a deficit, it is idle to indulge in complaints and vain regrets. All that we can do now is to make the best of

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the situation. The Development Department (perhaps more than any other) is or should be a business department run as far as possible on business lines. We should therefore consider what a prudent business man would do when owing to a depression in trade and accidental and unexpected losses he is faced with a temporary shortage of funds. His first care would be to make a sufficient provision for his existing commitments and responsibilities. This would entail strict economy in all branches of his business and the elimination of any unnecessary items. Naturally, he would not be in a position to provide for any wide expansion of his works and he would hesitate to embark on any new line of activity, which contained an undue element of risk. At the same time, he could take long views of the future and in the hope of better times he would lay his plans well ahead so as to be in a position to take full advantage of the first signs of a revival of trade.

"In dealing with the present budget, these business principles have been kept steadily in view. It was said yesterday by the hon. Dr. Matthai that no Government responsible to a democratic legislature could afford to take risks in its pioneer industries and that this Government was settling down into a policy of timid apology. I am not prepared to accept either of these broad propositions. Without taking some kind of risk, no real progress on new lines can be expected and there is no reason to apologise, because each and every new venture has not turned out to be a success. But I would agree, so far as to say, that a time of financial stringency is not the best time to undertake speculative schemes which involve large immediate commitments. This, however, should not be taken to imply that progress must summarily come to a full stop. So far as possible, after making provision for all existing branches of work, such preliminary steps have been taken as will enable an immediate expansion of activities to proceed so soon as the financial outlook improves, and certain seeds have been sown which if carefully tended, might grow into useful and beneficial plants in the future.

"The Member for the University in his speech went so far as to advocate the abolition of the Development Department altogether. He was kind enough to say that possibly, the Minister might continue with another portfolio. It is difficult to think that the hon. Member was serious. Possibly he was perpetrating a joke. If he really meant what he said, I am driven to think that he cannot have troubled himself to read any of the administration reports or Government Orders dealing with the activities of the department which have from time to time been placed on the table of the House."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Sir, a word of personal explanation. I have read all those orders myself very carefully and as a result of that reading I say that the Development Minister is wasting his time and the time and money of this Government in going on with that department."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"The few points which the time at my disposal allow me to touch on, will, I hope, do something to enlighten him and remove a few of his misapprehensions.

"Taking each department in turn, I first come to Agriculture. I am in entire agreement with those who attach the greatest importance to an adequate staff of demonstrators. But I would wish to draw attention to the fact which seems to have been overlooked by some hon. Members that provision has been made for increasing the number of demonstrators next year from 106 to 117 and of temporary maistris who also do demonstrative work from 40 to 45

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with an adequate allotment for travelling allowance. The opening of a new paddy breeding station in Kistna district will incidentally serve as a most useful object lesson to cultivating ryots."

* Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR :—" I complained the other day that although you have got a number of demonstrators you have fixed a very low sum for travelling allowance and therefore they are not able to travel the number of days on which they can travel and do useful work."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—" That complaint has not been made and when made it will be carefully enquired into. I only wish that it had been found possible to provide funds for a new sugarcane station in the Northern Circars as well."

" In the Livestock section, funds have been provided for Hosur, Chintaladevi and the buffalo station at Guntūr. So far from considering Chintaladevi superfluous, I would wish that money were available to open another cattle breeding station in the south with a view to improve the local breeds of cattle in each separate area."

" Some misapprehension seems to exist about the Pest Act operations. The bulk of the work is done by officers of the Revenue Department and not by officers of the Agricultural Department. I agree that agricultural demonstrators are better employed in training ryots in new methods of cultivation than in carrying out operations which can be done as well by an untrained agency."

" In the Veterinary Department it has been suggested that the money spent on touring assistants might more usefully be employed on the opening of new fixed dispensaries."

" I would draw attention to the fact that it has been proposed to open three new dispensaries next year and I would add that an experimental scheme has been worked out for opening one dispensary in each taluk of a selected district and abolishing the touring staff as far as possible in that district."

* Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—" May I ask the hon. the Minister where the new dispensaries are proposed to be opened ? "

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—" I have got the information, but it is not ready to hand."

* Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—" I only want to know the places where they are proposed to be opened ? "

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—" This scheme will be brought into force as soon as funds permit. In this connexion I would invite the attention of the House to the provision made for advance to cattle insurance societies which it is hoped to start next year."

" This is entirely a new departure and if successful, will prove of the greatest benefit to the ryots in rural areas."

" I turn now to the provision made for co-operative credit societies. Criticism has been directed against the expenditure on establishment. But I would point out that there are certain statutory duties, connected especially with the audit of accounts which cannot be transferred to non-official agency. At the same time, I am in agreement with the view that the devolution of other duties to non-official agency should proceed as rapidly as possible. The

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policy of appointing Honorary Assistant Registrars, against which a good deal of criticism has been directed, is intended merely as an intermediate stage in the process of devolution. The resolution passed at the last provincial conference advocating the discontinuance of the system is being carefully considered. At the same time I must mention that there is a strong and influential body of public opinion directly opposed to this resolution. Until a decision has been arrived at on the main question of policy it is not proposed to make any change in the existing system.

"Two more points I would like to draw special attention to. One is the provision made under the head 'Miscellaneous Loans and Advances' of two lakhs of rupees for the opening of land mortgage banks—a most important step in the direction of the solution of the problem of rural indebtedness. The second is the provision made. . ."

Mr. G. RAMESWARA RAO :—"May I know where these banks are proposed to be opened?"

The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"One at Conjeeveram, one at Ambur in North Arcot, one at Namakkal, etc."

Mr. K. KOTI REDDI :—"Are there any for the Ceded districts?"

Mr. A. CHIDAMBARA NADAR :—"Any land mortgage banks for the southern districts?"

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"We are going to provide only for four districts. If more funds are forthcoming and if also the working of these experiments proves to be the success that we expect, then we will go in for more banks."

Mr. A. CHIDAMBARA NADAR :—"It seems that these banks are proposed to be located in adjacent places. It will be better to have one in the north and one in the south."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"But the principle on which the selection has been made is to locate them in areas where the people have been devoting their time and energy to co-operative business."

Mr. G. RAMESWARA RAO :—"In the district of Anantapur there are many co-operative societies working. On the principle enunciated by the hon. the Minister the Anantapur district should have a bank."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"But the essential principle of land mortgage banks is that local people should subscribe as much amount as they expect the Government to subscribe. If they are able to subscribe rupees fifty thousand we will put in rupees fifty thousand and we will do the work. I do not know whether the Anantapur societies will be in a position fit to undertake that responsibility."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I would suggest to hon. Members not to interrupt except in order to offer a personal explanation. If an hon. Member who is speaking has misinterpreted another hon. Member the latter would be perfectly right in interrupting the speaker. The proper time to obtain information is question time."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur T. N. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI :—"The second is the provision made for a subsidy to the Provincial Co-operative Union for

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training in co-operative work. The intention is to further the non-officialization of the movement by the education of co-operators so far as possible by non-official agency.

"I come to the policy of Government on industrial development—a policy which many members have thought it necessary to criticize somewhat severely. No doubt, as pointed out by Dr. Matthai, the policy recommended by the Industrial Commission that an All-India service should be created for carrying on experiments has certain advantages. But I need not discuss the pros and cons of this policy at present; in view of financial conditions it is not practical politics. We have to make the best of things as they are and utilize our limited funds on development on existing lines to the best advantage until financial conditions improve. I am in entire agreement with the view that all our commercial concerns should, as far as possible, be run on commercial lines with a commercial system of accounts. But I would like to emphasize the point that the primary object of our concerns is not to earn a profit but to educate. A concern should not be condemned merely because it is not run at a profit; the educative influence of such a concern may fully justify any expenditure incurred.

"The necessity for the Government to experiment the pioneer industries is not however so pressing, now that the State Aid to Industries Act is in operation. From the speeches of certain members it might be inferred that this Act has been practically a dead letter. Though the Act is still in its infancy a sum of nearly five lakhs has already been advanced in the current year and the Government were prepared to advance as much again if the public had come forward to take advantage of the facilities offered. A provision of four lakhs has been made in the budget for next year and the Government will be only too glad to place all their experience and expert knowledge at the disposal of individuals and firms who wish to experiment on similar lines. The Government are also prepared to consider proposals to hand over the pioneer industries now under their control on suitable terms.

"Under present financial conditions it is not possible to undertake new schemes of development on a large scale. But increased provision has been made for existing activities so far as possible.

"I allude more particularly to the increased provision for boring and pumping sets for the Engineering section and to the allotment of funds for materials and equipment required by the Leather Trades and Textile Institutes.

"As regards the Taliparamba hostel I shall take the earliest possible steps to provide another residential building for such of the Thiyya students as are desirous of obtaining instruction in practical agriculture.

"I do not propose at this stage to deal in detail with the different industrial concerns under Government management. The accounts of these concerns are now audited quarterly and these quarterly reports enable the Government to scrutinize in detail the working of the concerns at frequent intervals. I can assure the House that the scrutiny to which the Soap Institute, the Jam factory, the Cannery and the Ink factory are subjected is a searching one.

"The last subject with which I propose to trouble the House but not the least important is industrial education so far as this subject comes under the control of the Development Department. I do not propose to deal with

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the general question of policy. The time at my disposal would not allow it. But I would like to make it clear that a good deal is really being done to promote industrial education, and it is only want of funds that prevents us from doing more. The Trades School has now moved into its new quarters, and most of its equipment is or will shortly be in working order. I could wish that hon. Members of this House would find time to visit the school as also the Textile and Leather Trade Institutes. I feel confident that some of our critics would be disarmed.

"I wish most sincerely it had been found possible to increase the building, equipment and teaching grant of industrial schools in the mufassal. They have done and continue to do invaluable work.

"I fear I must conclude my remarks as I began by harping on the deficit which hangs over our heads and hampers development at every turn. Much that could and should be done has had to be deferred. But should we be fortunate as to obtain remission of 126 lakhs next year and a further remission in the year following, our schemes of improvement are ready and waiting, many of them overdue and I shall not cease to press them until they are brought into operation.

3-30 p.m. "Some hon. Members wanted to know the places selected for the establishment of veterinary institutions. One is Krishnagiri in Salem district, another is Harpanahalli, Bellary district; then Kavali in Nellore district and Gobichettipalaivam in Coimbatore district."

*The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—"Mr. President, Sir, forty-eight hon. Members of the House have spoken on the general financial condition of the province, and it will not be possible for me to enter into the details of the remarks made by them. I am grateful to the hon. Members who have made appreciative references to the work of the departments in my charge. They realize, as well as I do, that the pace of progress has not been so rapid as they and I wish it to be. The circumstances and the conditions under which we are working are very clear to every one that I need not refer to them in detail. Situated as we are under conditions of the Government of India Act and the Devolution Rules, we are endeavouring to do our best to make the rules workable as far as possible, and if the progress has not been as satisfactory as we desire, it is not for want of energy or enthusiasm on the part of the Minister but, as I said, the whole framework of the reforms necessitate the restriction of our activity and therefore difficulties arise in our work.

"The hon. Member representing the University has very rightly drawn attention to the allocation of the revenues of the province to the Reserved and the Transferred departments and to the progress made in the matter of allocation to both sides. But in referring to the figures, I am afraid, there is either lack of information or misunderstanding about the matter. I verified the figures he referred to, as much as possible within the short time available, and I find that they are not altogether correct. The figures as far as lapses are concerned, can be found from volumes in the library of Appropriation Accounts of the Government of Madras, which will disclose the surrenders and lapses of funds from each of the departments. With regard to that, I venture to draw the attention of the Council to this fact that, as far as voted grants are concerned, the so-called savings are mostly connected with non-essentials, savings under contingencies and allowances, and that they relate to

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what is called the post-payment system. Until the works are properly executed and carried out, the grant-in-aid system does not permit of payment of funds provided in the budget. The local bodies think that certain schemes will be completed before the end of the year and provision for these schemes is made in the budget. If the local bodies are not able to complete the schemes, then that amount cannot be expended that year and must necessarily lapse. The post-payment system is largely responsible for the surrenders. The explanations given in the foot-notes of the Appropriation Reports that I have before me, show that most of these surrenders would come under that head. As an illustration, I would point out that in the Department of Education, the Grant-in-Aid Code provides that buildings and equipment grants are given under this post-payment system. Therefore, institutions will earn their grants-in-aid only after they have completed the buildings. As soon as estimates are received from these institutions, we provide in the budget a sum of three or four lakhs for the building grants. We anticipate that these buildings will be completed within the budget year and if they are not completed, the allotment assigned to them lapses. Necessarily, there is a saving under that head.

"Then with regard to the Public Works Department also, we provide an allotment for buildings. At the time when the Finance Department send out notices about the month of November or December in order to see if the building grant that is put in the Public Works budget will be spent, the department would have to estimate whether it would be able to spend the whole amount. If the head of the department says that he will not be able to spend the whole amount and that a certain amount of it will be unspent, the Finance Department at once pounces upon the department and says 'better surrender it at once'. These are financial rules which are intimated to the departmental heads directly by the Finance Department and they are called upon to say whether the grants in their budgets will be spent within the year or not. Then the departmental heads correspond with the Finance Department and say that the whole grant cannot be utilized and that there will be a saving."

* MR. S. SATYAMURTI :—" May I ask whether the financial rules by which the Finance Department pounces upon these grants, are rules framed by the Government of India or by the Local Government ? "

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—" They are rules of the Local Government. Under the Devolution Rules, the Finance Department is authorized to frame rules. Surrenders are made by the departmental heads in this manner. Hence you find these savings. In the case of essential grants there is no surrender but in non-essentials, you find there is surrender as you will find from the explanations in the statement.

"I would also similarly explain with regard to surrenders that might be noted under Public Health for 1922-23. A sum of twelve lakhs of rupees was allotted in the budget under 'Water-supply and Drainage schemes'. Local bodies could utilize only two and a half lakhs. Therefore nearly ten lakhs had to be surrendered. The schemes for water-supply were expected to be ready but they could not be carried out within the year and unless they were completed, the grant could not be utilized. Hence, ten lakhs had to be surrendered. The department anticipated that they would be able to have schemes ready in order to cover twelve lakhs of rupees. The local bodies

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were not able to complete them. Each scheme had to undergo the scrutiny of one department after another and by the time notice was sent out by the Finance Department”

Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—“ If I remember right, eight lakhs of rupees is the sum that was not utilized by the Education Department in the year 1923-24. I think I am correct. I obtained the information from the appropriation report. I want to have the details as to which were essentials and which were non-essentials. Local bodies have been waiting for years together even after the works were finished.”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ The major portion relate to the building grants, and to the post-payment system. In regard to Agriculture and Development also, you find that the savings were mostly under contingencies. As will be seen from the explanations in the foot-notes of the appropriation statement, most of the savings relate to contingencies, allowances and building grants.

“ Therefore, as I said, there is no want of energy or driving force in order to have the essential expenditure utilized within the year. It is only in the case of non-essentials and under conditions of the post-payment system, the allotments could not be utilized.

“ Then the second point which the hon. Member referred to is the allocation of the provincial revenues and the percentage of increase in the case of Transferred subjects. The allocation of revenues between the Transferred and Reserved subjects was made in the year 1920-21. For three following years there were deficit budgets and retrenchment was the keynote of the working of the departments. Hence, even if the matter had been pressed, it would have served no useful purpose. In the latter half of the year 1922 the question as to re-allocation and re-appropriation of funds, was raised. Lord Willingdon made the statement in the year 1923 that when the contribution was released, the Transferred, or the nation-building departments, would have the major portion of it. So, we are waiting for that happy event to occur so that a re-examination of the allocation may be made and proper share may be obtained.

“ It would be seen that the Transferred departments have not been idle in the meanwhile in the matter of getting a larger share of the revenues. As to the percentage of increase, even with limited finance and deficit budgets, I may say that there has been an increase of nearly 3 per cent on the side of the Transferred departments. It is not, as the hon. the Member for the University said, only half per cent but 3 per cent increase.”

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“ May I ask the Minister to kindly give us the figures to show that there has been an increase of 3 per cent ? ”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ The Finance Secretary has furnished the figures and it will be taking the time of the House to read the whole statement, but if my hon. Friend wants it, certainly I can give it which will show that there has been a progressive increase in the matter of allocation for the Transferred subjects. Therefore, I would say that there is no reason for complaint on that matter also. But as I started to say, neither you nor I am satisfied with the present condition of things. We all wish for improvement but things are there and we have to make the best of the circumstances in which we are situated.

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“ Sir, in regard to the detailed reference made in the remarks of the hon. 3-45 p.m. Members, I would venture to refer to two points. The outstanding one is the Excise policy of the Government. In this matter I must repeat what I said last year that there is no difference of opinion between both sides of the House with regard to the ideal, the ultimate goal of the Excise policy. But the whole question is, how are we to realize the ideal; and what are the means to be adopted to realize it? I would not enter into the details of the policy that has been adopted by Government but I would simply refer to what some men who have been thinking in the matter have stated the problem to be. Diwan Bahadur Rangachariyar who presided at the meeting of the Temperance League has very correctly stated the conditions of the Excise policy. He said :

‘ It is no doubt true that Excise is a Transferred subject, but you cannot expect any Minister (whoever he may be, however patriotic and however capable he may be) you cannot expect any Minister to revolutionise the whole policy at once. It is impossible in the financial condition of the country where 5½ crores of rupees have to be considered in the matter. It becomes very difficult to tackle the problem in any drastic manner. The problem is there and everyone knows that it is there; and everyone wants that sufficient progress should be made. The whole problem is one of finance and, as I stated, until Finance becomes a Transferred subject, and until the Ministers have full control over the purse, it will not be possible to lay down any policy which will be satisfactory to the social workers and to the patriotic workers of this country.’

“ It is true that Excise is a transferred subject, but the hands of the Minister are tied. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition benches.) Therefore under the conditions in which the Minister is . . . (At this stage there was some indistinct interruption from the Opposition Benches.)

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ Unless it is a matter for information I don't think that I need be interrupted.”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The hon. Member is quite right.”

Mr. A. CHIDAMBARA NADAR :—“ May I know whether it is on account of this policy Government are forcing the Nadars to tap toddy ? ” (Hear, hear.)

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ I said that the hands of the Minister are tied, because he cannot himself issue a policy without consulting the whole Government (cries of ‘ No ’) in a matter which affects the revenue arrangements of the Government. It must be agreed to by the whole Government. The Financial rules are such that the Minister himself cannot issue a statement of policy which he thinks is just and proper.”

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—“ May I have the Financial rule quoted which says that the Minister cannot issue a statement of policy without consulting the whole Government ? ”

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—“ A statement of policy which affects or alters the revenue of the province. (Laughter.)

“ I shall shortly indicate what the policy of the Excise department has been for the last few years. Before that, in this connexion I would refer to what people who have been seriously thinking over this question have stated the problem to be. Mr. Rangachariyar said :

‘ It is true that Excise is a transferred subject and that the Minister is at the head of the department. But his hands are tied. . . No Minister at the present moment could carry out a complete programme of total prohibition, for Finance is not under his control. Unless the Minister becomes responsible for the financial arrangements of the Province there is no real object served by saying that the subject of Excise is a Transferred subject.’

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"The main difficulty is the financial difficulty. Other sources of revenue must be found to compensate the loss of revenue by adopting a policy of total prohibition.

"Again, at a discussion that took place on 17th October 1924 at the anniversary of the Temperance League, the hon. Member, Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chettiyar, stated :

'There is no excuse for the Minister to condone the irregularities ; it is enough if these irregularities are wiped out. But the Minister was in a helpless position in this direction.'

"The hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan speaking on the same subject said that the only thing that could be done was to see that the rules and restrictions were properly observed. Then again, the hon. Member, Mr. Satyamurti, speaking on the same subject (cries of 'Oh' from the Opposition Benches) said that as long as the present Legislature continued they could not have any hope that their object would be realized." (Laughter.)

MR. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTIYAR :—"Sir, when I said that the hon. Minister was in a helpless condition I had in my mind the lack of elected majority at his back."

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"Language has its own sense ; words have their own meaning."

"Again, Sir, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Total Abstiners Fraternity, Mr. Satyamurti delivered a lecture on the Excise policy. The hon. Member Mr. Satyamurti in answer to a question whether total prohibition is possible would give his answer in the affirmative subject to three conditions. Those are : The experiment of prohibition must proceed *pari passu* with steps to enable the Government to establish a sufficiently strong detective force to prevent illicit distillation and sale ; and secondly, reasonable time must be given to the liquor trade to adjust itself to the new conditions ; and lastly, there must also be time for the provincial exchequer to adjust itself to the new conditions. Then in regard to the adjustment of provincial revenues the hon. Member referred to the imposition of new taxes, and as an illustration he said that super income-tax might be imposed. So, the whole problem as I said, is this : If you want total prohibition by all means let us have it. The only condition is that we must replace the revenue of that department by some other tax. If this hon. House is prepared to take the responsibility of substituting other taxes for this source of revenue, certainly it will be very foolish of any Government Member to say 'No' to it. The condition of the country is such that we cannot justly impose any new taxes nor is there any new source available which will bring to us the revenue that will be lost by adopting a policy of total prohibition. I place the whole problem before you to consider in the matter of the Excise policy of the Government. It is not a question of the Minister being opposed to it, or that the Minister is not quite as eager as any hon. Member of this House, but is simply a question of finding the ways and means to attain our object. I have placed before you the views of the various gentlemen belonging to the Temperance Association and the Total Abstiners Fraternity in order to show that if the hon. House is prepared to replace the lost revenue by new taxes as suggested by the hon. Member Mr. Satyamurti or Dr. Mathai or in the Report of the Bombay Committee, certainly there is no doubt at all about the solution of the problem. As Mr. Rangachariyar pointed out, as long as we are unable to do so and as long as we have no

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training in co-operative work. The intention is to further the non-officialization of the movement by the education of co-operators so far as possible by non-official agency.

"I come to the policy of Government on industrial development—a policy which many members have thought it necessary to criticize somewhat severely. No doubt, as pointed out by Dr. Matthai, the policy recommended by the Industrial Commission that an All-India service should be created for carrying on experiments has certain advantages. But I need not discuss the pros and cons of this policy at present; in view of financial conditions it is not practical politics. We have to make the best of things as they are and utilize our limited funds on development on existing lines to the best advantage until financial conditions improve. I am in entire agreement with the view that all our commercial concerns should, as far as possible, be run on commercial lines with a commercial system of accounts. But I would like to emphasize the point that the primary object of our concerns is not to earn a profit but to educate. A concern should not be condemned merely because it is not run at a profit; the educative influence of such a concern may fully justify any expenditure incurred.

"The necessity for the Government to experiment the pioneer industries is not however so pressing, now that the State Aid to Industries Act is in operation. From the speeches of certain members it might be inferred that this Act has been practically a dead letter. Though the Act is still in its infancy a sum of nearly five lakhs has already been advanced in the current year and the Government were prepared to advance as much again if the public had come forward to take advantage of the facilities offered. A provision of four lakhs has been made in the budget for next year and the Government will be only too glad to place all their experience and expert knowledge at the disposal of individuals and firms who wish to experiment on similar lines. The Government are also prepared to consider proposals to hand over the pioneer industries now under their control on suitable terms.

"Under present financial conditions it is not possible to undertake new schemes of development on a large scale. But increased provision has been made for existing activities so far as possible.

"I allude more particularly to the increased provision for boring and pumping sets for the Engineering section and to the allotment of funds for materials and equipment required by the Leather Trades and Textile Institutes.

"As regards the Taliparamba hostel I shall take the earliest possible steps to provide another residential building for such of the Thiyya students as are desirous of obtaining instruction in practical agriculture.

"I do not propose at this stage to deal in detail with the different industrial concerns under Government management. The accounts of these concerns are now audited quarterly and these quarterly reports enable the Government to scrutinize in detail the working of the concerns at frequent intervals. I can assure the House that the scrutiny to which the Soap Institute, the Jam factory, the Cannery and the Ink factory are subjected is a searching one.

"The last subject with which I propose to trouble the House but not the least important is industrial education so far as this subject comes under the control of the Development Department. I do not propose to deal with

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policy which I have been adopting in the matter of trying to remove facilities for drinking is this: In five taluks of four districts we have abolished all arrack shops with a loss of revenue of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. In order to show that the work of prevention was effectively done, as the hon. Member Mr. Satyamurti's speech would indicate, we have strengthened the preventive staff in the locality at an expenditure of several hundred rupees. Again, in the case of the Nilgiris we have abolished the sale of all drinks to certain classes of people and we have an increased staff for this purpose, and although the illicit liquor comes from the plains to the hills and the loss of revenue is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, this we have done as an experiment in places which afford facilities for carrying on this policy and we await to see how far this experiment could be extended. So far as restrictions in the matter of sale of liquor to women and children are concerned, orders have been issued and there have been several prosecutions of shop-keepers who sold liquor to women and children. The third thing which we have done recently in order to show that the taste for drinking is diminished is that we have reduced

Mr. M. C. RAJA :—"As a matter of personal explanation, Sir, in the City of Madras in Nungambakkam the people themselves did not want to have a shop within their cheri limits, but the Excise Agent pressed the shop-keeper to sit there and sell liquor. We have been doing social work and there is no co-operation on the part of the Government." (Hear, hear.)

*The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Hon. Members will be given an opportunity to make further speeches. I do not therefore think it is right for any hon. Member to interrupt in this manner. If hon. Members insist on attacking then and there every word of the hon. Minister's speech defining his policy there will be no end."

*The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"I should have been very glad if the hon. Member Mr. Raja had brought this matter to the notice of the Government or the Commissioner. I have not known this hitherto and this is the first time when this is brought to my notice. If there are cases like that, certainly it is a matter which will be considered before the opinion of the people could be vetoed."

"As I said, in the case of sale of liquor one great temptation is the strength of liquor. We have tried to see that the strength of liquor is weakened. We have reduced the U.P. from 35 to 38 so that it becomes as light beer. Instead of paying four annas per dram and taking arrack, a labourer would take light liquor. If we weaken the liquor he would give up a great deal. It is one of the points that was pressed upon the attention of Government by temperance workers out of practical experience that the strength of liquor should be reduced and in compliance with that request we have passed an order that the strength of liquor should be reduced, and if this is done the temptation to have strong liquor will evaporate from the people's minds. Another thing we have done is the closure of shops. It is represented that the recommendations made by the Advisory Committee are not heeded and that there is no use of having such advisory committees. In this connexion I would ask hon. Members to refer to the last report issued in November 1924 which says:

'The committee recommended the closure of 28 shops and change of sites in respect of 154 shops and their recommendations were given effect to in 12 and 123 cases, respectively. Independently of the recommendations of the committees 150 shops were closed and the sites of 300 shops were changed by Collectors. The recommendations of other departments such as the

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local boards and the Excise Licensing Boards made additional demands and resolved on the change of sites of three toddy shops. The opinion of these committees were taken into consideration and in majority of cases we respected the wishes of the committee. Independently of the advice given by these committees 150 shops were closed and 305 shops were changed by the Collectors. This is at the request of the local bodies and others.

"Thus it will be seen that public opinion is taken into consideration and I find from the remarks of the hon. Members Messrs. Veerian and Raja that in certain cases the opinions expressed might not have been taken into consideration by the subordinate officials. In such cases it is the duty of the people and those who represent them in this House to press the matter further until the evil is remedied. It is not possible for the Minister personally to attend to everything. If representations are made in such cases they will certainly be attended to and Government will see that the particular evil complained of is removed.

"In the course of the discussion it has been suggested that the Licensing Boards and the advisory committees should be reconstituted and I must say that the question is now under consideration. The rules which will govern the working of these bodies are under revision and it is possible that there will be non-official majority in these bodies, and their resolutions to some extent will be made binding. The change is under consideration. With regard to the matter of giving effect to the policy of local option, as I said the matter of making the resolutions of the advisory committee and the Licensing Boards binding on the Government is under consideration and it will be very soon that we may issue a communiqué in order to see in what way the changes would be made and what powers would be entrusted to the representatives of the people. There may be one or two cases in which the subordinate officials might not have given effect to the wishes of the people. But that is no reason to condemn the whole policy, because such irregularities exist in every department and not merely in the Excise department alone. Because certain irregularities exist in the Excise department it is not fair, nor patriotic, to condemn the whole policy of the department.

"So far I have dealt with the Excise policy in order to show that the policy is not one which is different from that which the Members on the opposite benches advocate. There is only difference of opinion on this point, viz., whether you are prepared to take stock of the whole thing and wipe out the excise revenue. That is the whole problem. Are Members on the Opposition side prepared to say that they will stop every kind of development in other directions although they forego the excise revenue? So far as I am concerned, I cannot take upon myself the responsibility of stopping development in other directions such as educating the depressed classes whose claims Mr. M. C. Raja has so eloquently advocated. For the attainment of our ideal so far as the drink problem is concerned, we have to work more for the education of the depressed classes. No Minister, I am sure, would be able to give effect to the Excise policy fully in the conditions in which we are situated now.

"Then there is one other point which I venture to refer to, viz., the question of encouragement given to aided education. I have repeatedly said that the question of encouraging aided agency to carry on the expansion of education is one which I strongly hold and I have been doing as far as possible in that direction. This question is also engaging our attention and we are seeing as to how far we could revise the Grant-in-Aid Code. The only way to expand aided education is to give further encouragement to aided

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agencies and there need be no apprehension that these aided agencies will either be neglected or discounted. They have been a great source of help to the Government in this Presidency and in no other Presidency have the Government derived this support both from missionary and non-missionary bodies. These bodies have started a large number of schools and are carrying on their work very satisfactorily. There is no reason to believe that these bodies will not be encouraged in carrying on their work either elementary, secondary or collegiate. The terms of the Grant-in-Aid Code, when it is revised, will be liberalised in order that these agencies may be able to carry on their work efficiently."

* The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL :—" Mr. President, at this late hour and with three more of my hon. Colleagues yet to speak I do not propose to occupy the time of the House beyond making a few observations with regard to the points raised by the hon. Members in their criticisms in the general debate on the budget. Sir, as the hon. the Finance Member has pointed out, there is little satisfaction to be derived from a budget which closes with a deficit of 88 lakhs of rupees, particularly bearing in mind that almost every new scheme in the nation building departments has been shelved. From this budget it is evident that the finances of this Presidency are far from being satisfactory. This unsatisfactory state of our finances is as much due to the inelastic nature of the sources of revenue of this Province as it is to the Central Government's demands of a disproportionately large contribution from this province. Sir, I agree with the hon. Member Dr. John Matthai in deprecating the existing system of financial arrangements between the Government of India and this Province.

"It is indeed an anomaly that the Central Government with a possibly decreasing expenditure should reserve to itself sources of income capable of almost unlimited expansion and leave to Provinces with calls for increasing expenditure sources of revenue which have already reached their highest level. The consequence of this anomaly in conjunction with the large contribution that this Province has to pay has been all the more seriously felt. I daresay that this state of things cannot continue any longer and I am glad that the Government of India have realised at last that they have been unjust to this Province and made provision for a reduction in the contribution. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. The Finance Bill has to be passed by the Assembly before we can be sure of a reduction in our contribution to the Central Government. I hope and trust that our representatives in the Assembly will see that the Bill is passed with the provision for the reduction of Provincial contributions. If they do not, I am afraid we repent having returned them to the Assembly.

"Sir, I would now try to reply to some of the criticisms offered by hon. Members. Before I do so, let me say that I am grateful to the hon. Members who have expressed their generous appreciation in regard to the new schemes thought out and introduced in the Medical and Public Health departments. Doubts have been expressed in some quarters that the local bodies may take advantage of the new scheme and substitute subsidised dispensaries for existing ones. I can assure the House that it is not the idea of the Government to encourage any such policy on the part of the local bodies.

"The hon. Member from South Kanara has asked the question as to why maternity relief has not been extended. The scheme that has been recently

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introduced makes provision for the employment of midwives and in case any doctor has the help of a midwife, he is to get an additional subsidy. It has also been pointed out that it is desirable to train the *dhais* as midwives. Some time back before the introduction of the reforms an experiment was tried and given up as a failure. The present Government however proposes to give another chance for the training of these *dhais* and some of them in fact are undergoing training just now.

"The same hon. Member has pointed out that the scheme of appointing honorary doctors for State-managed hospitals has not progressed. The scheme has been introduced only recently and we have not got sufficient experience as to the results of the working of the scheme. It is however under consideration that some of the State-managed hospitals in Madras should be entirely left to be managed by an honorary staff.

"Sir, another question that has been asked is in regard to the Public Health Advisory Committee. There is already a committee of that kind and the Government, whenever any important matter has to be considered, are taking the committee into confidence and discussing the matter with them."

"There has been a large volume of opinion expressed urging the need for improving rural roads and rural water-supply. There is no doubt that there is a general demand for improvement of rural water-supply and rural communications. But, at the same time, it must be remembered that these are matters which have to be attended to by local bodies. I know that the finances of local bodies are not satisfactory, but the question is whether they have tapped all the available sources of income. They can, if they want, have a number of remunerative enterprises such as construction of markets, opening of cart-stands and such others. If they develop this source, I think the financial position of local bodies will greatly be improved. I do not deny the responsibility of the Government to attend to these rural needs and if the local bodies are prepared to allot funds for roads and water-supply schemes, the Government too will try to help them.

"Another point raised is about the district board railways. So far as the existing board railways are concerned, they are not governed by local legislation and form part of Central subjects. There is, however, a proposal that some of the district boards should construct light and feeder railways or tramways. The question of introducing a Bill enabling local boards to take up schemes of light railways is just now under consideration."

Rao Bahadur A. S. KRISHNA RAO PANTULU :—"May I know for how long has a Bill been drafted?"

* The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL :—"Not yet. The matter is yet under correspondence between the Central Government and this.

"The hon. the Muhammadam Member from Trichinopoly made some constructive proposals as to the collection of municipal taxes. The proposals will be considered.

"Sir, the hon. Member for the University referred to the lapse of certain grants given for works in the Transferred departments. If I remember right, most of these funds lapsed to the general revenue are funds which were allotted before the Reforms were introduced. The same Member has also criticized the policy underlying nominations. Nominations to local bodies are made, in the case of the taluk boards and union boards by presidents of district boards and taluk boards respectively and in the case of municipalities

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and district boards by the Government on the recommendations of the presidents of district boards and Collectors of the respective districts. They are, as far as possible, made so as to give representation to unrepresented communities. The hon. Member for the University, if I heard him aright, said that Tympany hall practices are prevalent in the local bodies. The insinuation is altogether unwarranted. Such practices may perhaps be familiar to those who depend upon the patronage of others for their living."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I propose merely to devote my attention to matters of policy which have been referred to in the speeches of hon. Members. I do not think this is the occasion nor shall I be doing justice to the subject or remarks made by the hon. Members if I went into details.

"I shall first deal with the question of public prosecutors. A certain amount of invective was shed on that subject and I was reproached with having emulated Walpole of immortal memory and established the principle of every man having his price."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" May I explain myself, Sir? I was careful to add that he was an accessory to it after the fact and not that he himself took the initiative."

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" I only desire to say this. As I have stated in the course of various necessary interruptions, the initiative in this matter has been resting till now with the Collectors and I may say at once that, speaking personally, I do not think that if an honest, efficient and thoroughly satisfactory man can be got outside the ranks of this House any Government ought to make itself responsible for the appointment of Members of the Council, especially in view of the possibility of such reproaches as we are now hearing. On the other hand, if a person is an outstanding figure in the bar of his particular place and if the men responsible for the judicial and the criminal administration of the district are willing to select him, his being a Member of this House ought not to stand in the way of recognition of his professional attainments."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—" May I suggest to my hon. Friend that he might create by convention a precedent by which they would cease to be Members of this Council once they are appointed? "

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Sir, the Government of India Act provides that on accepting the appointments they lose their seats. I need not set up a convention. If the constituency chooses to return them, I think it might not be inaptly or unjustly claimed that the constituency ought to be allowed to know and mind its own business. But, Sir, the view of the Government may be summarised as follows: The fact of a person being a Member of the Legislative Council should not, if he is otherwise qualified, stand in the way of his becoming a public prosecutor. If the constituency chooses to elect him, it is their look out. They elect him with their eyes open. Magistrates and judges are neither entitled to adjourn nor justified in adjourning their work in order to enable these gentlemen to discharge their legislative duties. District courts will make it clear to Government pleaders and public prosecutors that legal work must be attended to personally and adequately and must take precedence over political engagements."

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Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—“ May I for one moment explain myself, Sir? I was not at all claiming what I said as a matter of legal right. I know the law permits such a thing. But my hon. Friend should also be interested in setting up a convention by which our system of responsible Government might be given greater vigour and I ask him not to lose sight of this opportunity.”

* Mr. K. PRABHAKARAN TAMPAN :—“ I have no objection, as a layman to Government appointing every vakil member of this Council either as a public prosecutor or a district judge, or even as a Judge of the High Court, but as a tax-payer I would object to the additional expenditure of a by-election.”

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—“ I do not bring it about. The Government of India Act does it. That is the policy indicated by the Government. That policy has been made perfectly well-known to district authorities throughout the Presidency and I take it that further nominations of persons will be guided by these considerations.

“ The other point that was raised which was also a matter of policy was in regard to the enhanced court fees. If hon. Members will peruse the Administration report reviewing the statistics for 1923 it will be seen that the increase in the court fees did not produce quite the effect which was hoped for, and the opinion has been expressed that a large increase in the institution fees especially in money suits might lead to a denial of justice in some cases at least; and I have stated in this Council that the Government are engaged in reviewing this matter and if the Government are satisfied that in matters in which restriction of litigation is not the object, as in declaratory suits and suits of that description, the increase in court fees has led to the possibility of a denial of justice, they will not be behind hand nor slow to retrace their steps.

“ The next point that I desire to mention arises out of the remarks made by the hon. Member from Cuddapah. He suggested that
4-30 p.m. court fees in the case of *ex parte* and small cause suits may be separately dealt with. That is a matter to which I attach some importance as I believe there is a possibility of a case being made out in that direction and I shall certainly explore the possibilities.

“ Now, there has been a certain amount of misconception regarding Judicial administration partly because of the manner in which the figures have been compiled. In the detailed discussion of the budget, I think I shall be able to show that the Judicial statistics are misleading, and that it is not a fact that the Government are raising a huge revenue or realizing a huge surplus out of their Judicial administration. The figures that are given in the budget do not take into account pensions, supervision by Government, Secretariat charges, stationery and printing and district administration charges, charges of depreciation of buildings and so forth and the exact figures that I shall place before the Council will show that our surplus is very very small indeed. I do not desire to take the House through those figures now because this will be, I take it, one of the main subjects to be taken up and discussed in the course of the Civil Justice budget. The same remark applies to the translation and printing charges in regard to which, if you take the over-head charges such as interest, pensions and charges of maintenance, and supervision the surplus becomes nominal.

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"Now, Sir, the hon. Member for the University adverted to the increase of the temporary judges in the High Court. There again, I propose to follow his advice and to place the figures on the table of this House before the voting on the budget, when I hope I shall be able to convince the Members of this honourable House that the figures are appalling and necessitate immediate reduction if litigants are not to be deprived of their just rights to have their cases speedily disposed of. And now, it seems to me that in this matter there has been a certain amount of confusion—and I think the hon. Member from Guntur referred to it. Some time ago while an Advocate-General I took up the position that there ought to be eight judges, whereas I am now supporting an increase of the number to 14. The figures again will explain that, but I may say that it will be my endeavour to see—and I shall try to carry it out in practice on behalf of the Government—that there will not be even one judge more than is absolutely essential. Signs are not wanting to show that by reason of the Civil Justice Committee's report which will be promulgated on the 26th of this month and on which legislation will be presumably proceeded with, the number of miscellaneous matters with which the High Court deals will be greatly lessened, and I think automatically this problem will solve itself.

"Then, Sir, I wish to deal next with the question of irrigation. In that matter, I may say that with regard to the Cooum, the Government are anxiously exploring the methods of making the Cooum both navigable and tolerable. The scheme is nearly ready but could not be pushed through because of want of funds. We have got two schemes, one of which can probably be carried out now and can afford a satisfactory solution for the present state of things, and the other is a more expensive one. In that matter, I hope to have the support of my hon. Colleagues on this side when we have spare money placed in our pockets. (A voice :—'Doomsday').

"With regard to certain works in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, my hon. Friends from those districts will pardon me if I say that they are suffering from or enjoying a plethora of technical advice with the result that almost every scheme of ours is assailed on technical grounds, and one of the most important schemes is held up because of the alleged shortcomings according to this technical advice of some scheme. With regard to the Mettur scheme, some apprehensions have been expressed by reason of the inadequate provision made in this budget, that is to say the budget of the year to begin hereafter. Now that the scheme has been sanctioned, I may say that no effort will be wanting to see it through. But so far as the Tungabhadra scheme is concerned, I cannot give a rosy picture of its probable progress in the course of the year, but in that matter again, there is a division wholly engaged in investigating the matter, and as soon as the investigation fructifies, I will place the matter before the Council. (A voice :—'What about the Polavaram Island scheme?') One of my hon. Friends is asking me about the Polavaram Island scheme, and my hon. Colleague this side has been asking for information in regard to the Dusi scheme in the Ganjam district. I may say that to both these schemes I am committed. I have made pronouncements in this House stating that I am in favour of those schemes, and I have already taken steps to push on with the Polavaram Island scheme, and I shall be able to make a more definite statement about it when the actual discussion comes on, and I take it that the matter will be raised in a more concentrated form then.

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"The Kattalai dam is one of the schemes which have been referred to. There is a difference of opinion between those who investigated the scheme, and the Government experts in the matter; the former put forward one point of view which has been fortified by powerful advocacy. Unfortunately our technical advice is against that view, but I am trying to arrive at a compromise in the matter."

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN:—"What about the Sangameswaram channel being connected with the Cooum?"

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR:—"I take it either as a joke or a serious statement. If it is a serious statement, the handicap in regard to connecting the Sangameswaram project with the Cooum is that His Exalted Highness the Nizam wants a transfer of some British subjects to his jurisdiction. If it is a joke, I must say it is not a well conceived joke."

"The other point which was referred to was the topic of Police sports. As to that I take it that every one is agreed that these Police sports have great effect in promoting *esprit de corps* and enabling people to come together and to profit by the process and when dealing with the Police budget I hope to satisfy hon. Members of this House on the point fully."

"Before I conclude, there is one matter to which I wish to refer. The hon. Member who spoke of Sangameswaram project and the Cooum referred to the question of the abolition of Indian Members of the Executive Council. I may assure him that no one will be more glad than myself if the Indian Members of the Executive Council are abolished to-day (Hear, hear), and if as a result of it all the subjects are transferred to my hon. Colleagues on this side (hear, hear). But . . . and there is the *but*. Now, then, my hon. Friend speaking on another point, I think, adverted to a decided opposition on the part of Members of the Executive Council to conferring high appointments on Muhammadans. I may repudiate that charge and say that the Executive Council Members—I am speaking not only on my behalf but on behalf of my hon. Colleagues—are not and never have been against it. I do not want to follow him into the possibilities of discussing a matter which ought not to be discussed on the floor of this House. I would leave the allegation and the repudiation to him and his conscience."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"Sir, on going through the notes which I have myself made or have had made of all that has been said by Members of this House during the course of the last two and a half days I have been somewhat agreeably surprised to find how comparatively few are the references to the departments in my charge. Out of the 26 subjects which compose the somewhat hybrid portfolio of the Home Member, not more than 5 have been mentioned at all, and only 2 or 3, I think I may say, by way of criticism. It is quite possible of course that hon. Members may be keeping their powder dry with a view to a more devastating attack on a future occasion. (A voice:—'Ending in smoke'). Possibly as my hon. Friend says it may end in smoke. Any how the result is that at present I shall not have to ask the indulgence of the House very long while I deal with a few of the more important points which have been brought out in the discussion."

"Of the subjects which fall under my charge far and away the most important, in my opinion and probably in the opinion of most Members of this House, is Labour, and under Labour the most important section is the care of the depressed classes. It is not a subject on which there is very much difference of opinion. Every one in this House, I believe, shares

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with the Government the desire to do all that can be done to further the interests of that department. Very frequent references are made in this House and elsewhere to the nation-building activities of Government. I maintain, Sir, that there is no single department, not excluding Education, which may be more properly designated 'nation building' than the department which looks after the depressed classes (hear, hear). And if in time to come there should be a scramble for any windfall that may come to us from the Government of India, and any one suggests that it should be ear-marked for nation-building activities, I shall claim a very large portion of it for this department. I would go further, Sir, and with all deference to the sentiments expressed by the hon. Member for the University this morning on the financial aspect of Government's policies, I would say that we are perfectly justified in borrowing money to meet current expenditure on the amelioration and uplift of the depressed classes, and that we do so with the knowledge that we are making a perfectly sound investment.

"Under the head of Labour, my hon. Friend the Deputy President, whom I am glad to see, has arrived at a very opportune moment, appealed to us that the emigrant labourer who goes out from this Presidency should be better looked after. Now, on the general question he has had his answer from the Member below the gangway who, speaking from his personal experience, told this House that the emigrant labourer is very much better off and very much happier in the country to which he emigrates . . ."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"It was regarding South America that he spoke."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"The statement, I think, was in more general terms, but I am prepared to leave that to my hon. Friend opposite and the hon. Member who spoke about it to settle between them."

"Coming to more particular points my friend has challenged me on the subject of the statement I made on the previous occasion as to the cost of living in Assam. He drew us a very lurid picture of the condition of labourers in Assam, more particularly based on the suggestion that they had to live on conjee."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"I beg your pardon. I never said that they lived on 'conjee', Sir. I referred to the days of Olive."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I understood my hon. Friend's argument to be that the labourer in Assam owing to the insufficiency of his wages lives on conjee. Well, Sir, I have here details drawn up on careful enquiry on one of the Assam estates. As I have explained on more than one occasion, it is very difficult to generalise in this matter, and the most profitable course we can take is to get actual figures from a particular estate or estates. The superintendent of one of these estates makes the following report as to what from his experience he finds to be the average cost of living of a garden coolie for one month. He gives us 22 seers of rice."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I beg to know how many rupees weight each seer would be and whether it is a seer by weight or by measure?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"It is given in seers, and I imagine it corresponds to our measure. If a labourer gets 22 seers per month, that, I take it, roughly corresponds to 22 measures. That, I am told, would be a very reasonable figure in Madras."

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Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"For a maund, one equivalent is 80 seers and another equivalent is 120 seers. So 'seer' may have different weight."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"This, I say, Sir, represents the experience of the Garden Superintendent as to the amount which the coolie purchases for his use, and it will presently appear it is not the want of money which prevents him from buying more. Allowing 22 seers for rice the total comes to Rs. 3-2-9 per month; there is also Re. 0-11-3 for dhall, Re. 0-6-0 for mustard, one anna for salt, and eight annas for spices making a total of Rs. 4-13-0 for a month or Re. 0-2-6 a day. On this basis we may place the whole cost of necessities at Rs. 6 a month, as like my hon. Friend I recognize that the coolie must have something in addition to his bare food."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"No allowance for tamarind?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"Tamarind is possibly included in spices."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"Tamarind is not spices."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I do not know. But I am only dealing with the general figures. The hon. the Member may take it if he likes at Rs. 5, or Rs. 6, or Rs. 7. Turning to the other side of the question, namely the wages."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I ask the hon. Member if that is the scale given by the Superintendent on his own information or is that given by any coolie?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"That, Sir, is the reply of the Superintendent to an inquiry as to what he considered the average expenditure of the coolies on his estate."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"That is not what the coolies thought it necessary?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"As I have said, it is not the want of money which prevents his spending more. That is the amount which the coolie spends of his own free will, and the Garden Superintendent considers that sufficient."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"Is it the maximum which nobody can exceed?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"It is the actual estimate of an experienced Garden Superintendent, of the average amount which the coolies on his estate spend on the various items of food."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"I want to know how much the coolie is given as a concession rate."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"Whatever the concession may be we know Rs. 3-2-9 will purchase him 22 seers of rice."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I beg to know if any allowance is made for fish?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I have already told my hon. Friend that he can add as much as he likes for such items. I recognize that other things are required. I was passing on to the other side of the question when my hon. Friends interrupted me. Perhaps they will now give me a chance of

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getting on. Take the other side of the picture. Very careful calculations have again been made with the result that it is found that on four hours' work per day the ordinary average coolie can earn 5 annas: with a total of eight hours he earns 12 annas a day. That, allowing for the days he does not work, corresponds to the Rs. 15 a month which on more than one occasion I have quoted as the average pay of the labourer in Assam if he chooses to do a full day's work on a reasonable number of days in the month."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"In that connexion, may I beg to point out that it was stated at one of the conferences, from the statement given by some of the estate managers, that the average earning was only about Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 and that was for a man, woman and child, and that the maximum they can earn for the first year was only 4 annas a day?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I am afraid, Sir, I must deprecate interruptions of this kind. I am referring to the average wage of a man which I am quoting as Rs. 15. My hon. Friend puts forward some other figure for a man, woman and child together. That is hardly relevant to the particular point I was making."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I rise to a point of order. I am perfectly in order in referring to certain figures given by the tea estate managers figures, which have been supplied to me by one of the Labour officers, when, I think, it formed the subject of discussion at one of our conferences. I therefore beg to point out to you, Sir, the relevancy of my interruption. My hon. Friend says that the figure is Rs. 15. How did he calculate that average?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I would suggest that the hon. the Home Member pass on to the next point."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I find it difficult to leave things in that position. I must say again that my figures have been supplied to me by authorities who have been making very careful enquiries. The figures supplied to me are dated the 7th of February. I do not know if my hon. Friend's figures are later than that. I adhere to the point that the average is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 15, and the further point I make is that Rs. 4-13-0 is the estimated cost of living. The cost of living would have to be multiplied by three before it can be said that the man is not getting a living wage."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"I question the premises."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I would like, if I may, to mention that the particular Superintendent who gave us the figures is a man acquainted with the conditions of life in the Ceded Districts. He told us

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I know his name, Sir?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"He told us that the labourers in Assam were living in a manner undreamt of in the Ceded Districts even by their headmen. Pigs, goat, sheep, cattle and fowls were a regular portion of their diet."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"That is a most astounding statement?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I shall leave the question of the condition of the labourer in Assam at that."

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Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"It is not supported by the statements of hundreds and thousands of labourers who have come away, Sir."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"On the general question of emigration my hon. Friend has discreetly refrained from saying anything. I say discreetly, because in his own speech he made a rather important admission, namely, that the want of employment was so bad in Anantapur that the people had to take to dacoity. That being the case, it is not in the least surprising that they should desire to go to Assam."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"A personal explanation, Sir. That is rather a mis-statement. What I said was that on account of the insufficiency of wages given and on account of the want of irrigation sources which the Government had not supplied, people were starving, sometimes some of them taking to dacoities just like the Scottish people did once."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I am only concerned with the fact mentioned by my hon. Friend that there is a great want of employment in Anantapur. That strengthens the position we take that it would not be just for us to deny these people the opportunity of going elsewhere for employment and keep them compulsorily in their own districts where there is no work for them to do, whatever may be the cause of want of work."

"Now, Sir, I will pass on to Forests, which is, I know, a very favourable battle ground in this Council on these occasions. Let me refer first to the remarks made by my hon. Friend the Member for the University. He described the Forest department as a huge joke, his reason being, I think, that having spent Rs. 51 lakhs we only showed a receipt of Rs. 54 lakhs. May I not return the compliment and ask whether his speech was not a huge joke? Does he really mean to suggest seriously that because we only had a revenue of Rs. 54 lakhs we should withdraw all control over the forests and do nothing for their conservation? Is that the position?"

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"On a point of personal explanation. I would suggest and did suggest whether it was not possible for the Government to manage to pursue a more economical policy of spending less and making more."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I understood the hon. Member to suggest that we should close down."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"I only said with regard to the policy followed. I realize forests do exist."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I gather then that the hon. Member's point is that we ought to make a larger income. May I remind my hon. Friend that when we did propose to do some commercial exploitation in the forests of Tinnevely, the leader of the agitation against it not only at local meetings but in this House also was my hon. Friend himself. He declared that we were wrong in proposing to exploit those forests."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"On a point of personal explanation. When I said that it was possible to spend less and make more, it does not mean that I said exploitation of forests would affect rainfall or other natural conditions in places where it was so. If that is not the one method by which expenditure ought to be incurred, there are other ways certainly."

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the general question of policy. The time at my disposal would not allow it. But I would like to make it clear that a good deal is really being done to promote industrial education, and it is only want of funds that prevents us from doing more. The Trades School has now moved into its new quarters, and most of its equipment is or will shortly be in working order. I could wish that hon. Members of this House would find time to visit the school as also the Textile and Leather Trade Institutes. I feel confident that some of our critics would be disarmed.

"I wish most sincerely it had been found possible to increase the building, equipment and teaching grant of industrial schools in the mufassal. They have done and continue to do invaluable work.

"I fear I must conclude my remarks as I began by harping on the deficit which hangs over our heads and hampers development at every turn. Much that could and should be done has had to be deferred. But should we be fortunate as to obtain remission of 126 lakhs next year and a further remission in the year following, our schemes of improvement are ready and waiting, many of them overdue and I shall not cease to press them until they are brought into operation.

3-30 p.m. "Some hon. Members wanted to know the places selected for the establishment of veterinary institutions. One is Krishnagiri in Salem district, another is Harpanahalli, Bellary district; then Kavali in Nellore district and Gobichettipalaivam in Coimbatore district."

*The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—"Mr. President, Sir, forty-eight hon. Members of the House have spoken on the general financial condition of the province, and it will not be possible for me to enter into the details of the remarks made by them. I am grateful to the hon. Members who have made appreciative references to the work of the departments in my charge. They realize, as well as I do, that the pace of progress has not been so rapid as they and I wish it to be. The circumstances and the conditions under which we are working are very clear to every one that I need not refer to them in detail. Situated as we are under conditions of the Government of India Act and the Devolution Rules, we are endeavouring to do our best to make the rules workable as far as possible, and if the progress has not been as satisfactory as we desire, it is not for want of energy or enthusiasm on the part of the Minister but, as I said, the whole framework of the reforms necessitate the restriction of our activity and therefore difficulties arise in our work.

"The hon. Member representing the University has very rightly drawn attention to the allocation of the revenues of the province to the Reserved and the Transferred departments and to the progress made in the matter of allocation to both sides. But in referring to the figures, I am afraid, there is either lack of information or misunderstanding about the matter. I verified the figures he referred to, as much as possible within the short time available, and I find that they are not altogether correct. The figures as far as lapses are concerned, can be found from volumes in the library of Appropriation Accounts of the Government of Madras, which will disclose the surrenders and lapses of funds from each of the departments. With regard to that, I venture to draw the attention of the Council to this fact that, as far as voted grants are concerned, the so-called savings are mostly connected with non-essentials, savings under contingencies and allowances, and that they relate to

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think we are all agreed that the right policy is to do all we possibly can to alleviate and improve the position of the unfortunate prisoners in jails. But on every possible occasion the Members of this House seek to cut down the provision which the Government make for adding to the comforts and improving the conditions of the prisoners."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"Reduce the number of prisoners."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"If my hon. Friend can secure a reduction in the number of prisoners, that will be proper ground for cutting down jail expenditure. But the process which my hon. Friend prefers is to cut down the provision made for the prisoners before cutting down the number, and this clearly gives us no opportunity of ameliorating the condition of these people. This process has been more than once repeated and if I may judge from the rumours that have a way of circulating in this building this is not the last time a cut in the jail budget may be proposed."

5 p.m. "Let me refer specially to a proposal which appears in the budget for a jail for tuberculosis patients in Bellary. In more than one quarter some doubt has been expressed whether it is proper for us to undertake such a scheme. What is the point? Tuberculosis is common all over the Presidency, and we are told that it is increasing. We have a certain number of tubercular prisoners in jail. It is not as one member seems to imply that they contract the disease in jail. In most cases they bring it with them. The question is how they are to be dealt with. The doctors have advised that it is only fair both to the patient and also to the other prisoners who are associated with them that we should segregate the tubercular patients as much as possible."

* Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR:—"With regard to the alleged charge, I am responsible for giving expression of the currency of a rumour that political prisoners, that is, those who have disobeyed orders under section 144, etc., and others are specially safeguarded and are being rigidly separated from other persons without being permitted even to move about in jails. I say that having been used to a free life outside, when they are so shut up in jails, it is no wonder that they contract tuberculosis. I know a particular case, Mr. Chinnayya Pillai of Mayavaram. With regard to him the Government took so much care that he was not allowed to mix with anybody else in his prison, and he was confined the whole four months in quarantine ward. I only mention this instance to show how political prisoners are so treated as to make it easy for them to contract pthisis."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I am afraid I do not quite follow the trend of my hon. Friend's argument. But, so far as it concerns the point I am making, I repeat that the object of establishing a tubercular jail, apart from the relief of the sufferers themselves, is to protect other prisoners from the risk of infection. The Government regard it as a special duty laid down on them, when they take away a man's liberty of movement, to see that he is not exposed to the attack of avoidable diseases."

"Then, Sir, I come to the Alipuram jail. And I should like to express my acknowledgments to my hon. Friend, the Deputy President, for the very nice things he said about the jail in a note which he wrote on inspecting it. He commented, I think, on the fact that neither I nor the Law Member had made any remarks in the Visitors' book. That so far as I was concerned was

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deliberate. My hon. Friend will realize that it is sometimes rather dangerous for a member of Government, after a casual visit, to make remarks which may embarrass him later. There are other ways of putting in train any improvements that he thinks desirable. The hon. Member has referred to the use of bell-chains at night and has condemned the practice. I may say that I entirely agree with him. I have been trying to make some arrangement which will allow us to abandon the use of these chains; but unfortunately the trouble has always been money. The structural alterations needed will, we are told, cost Rs. 1,40,000. If the 'millennium' comes and if we have money, I assure him that I shall not be backward in putting forward proposals in this matter which I regard as one of the most important demands of our jail administration."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"Urgent!"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"Very well, I accept the term; I shall put it forward as an urgent and important improvement."

"There is one special point in connexion with the Alipuran jail which I may refer to. Both an hon. Member from Malabar and the hon. Member for University have referred to certain rumours going round of trouble in the jail. I had no knowledge of the matter until my hon. Friend from Malabar mentioned in a letter that there were rumours and I asked him to give me some information about the nature of the rumours. I had no answer. When I asked him it was not with the object of calling on him to substantiate the rumours; what I wanted was some hint as to the nature of the rumours current so that it would be possible for me to take action thereon. The hon. the Member for the University, it is true, appealed to me to disregard red tape. I am sorry he has been disappointed. Though perhaps I may say that, while I share his objection to too much red tape, a certain amount of it, in the sense in which it ensures a regular and orderly ordinary course of business, is not without its advantages. The fact is that I could not possibly issue personally the order he suggested. It was a matter to be disposed of by the Government. It had to be referred to the Inspector-General of Police and I think the answer is now ready. I fear the hon. Member will not find it very satisfactory. It is to the effect that as there are non-official visitors he should get into touch with them and get them to verify for him the truth of these rumours. I may say that seems to me a reasonable way of dealing with any rumours of this kind."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"May I take it therefore that it is the policy of the Government not to allow any Member of this House to visit these jails and to get things done for him through non-official agency?"

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"Any member may present himself at the jail and with the permission of the Superintendent of the Jail may go round it. But what the hon. the Member asked was that a special Government Order should be issued directing that for special reasons he should make a special inspection of the jail. Until we are advised that something is wrong, until we know that there is at least some foundation for rumours that are spread, any such special inquisition is out of the question. I may here mention that this morning I had a report which shows that there was some trouble in the jail three months ago. I am making further enquiries and I am afraid I cannot say anything more until I hear from the Inspector-General again. I hope to give some more information before the next meeting. It appears that in December there was a hunger-strike."

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for a general discussion of our budget. Railways are not included in our budget and I want to know whether it is right to refer to them in the general discussion."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it the hon. the Home Member has no objection to the remarks being addressed to the hon. the Chief Minister. "

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" My point, Sir, is that under the rules His Excellency allots a day or days for the general discussion of the budget. This being a central subject and not being included in our budget at all, it seems to me that the discussion of that matter is irrelevant and comes outside the scope of the purpose for which these days were allotted. "

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I am not quite prepared to look into the matter now and give a definite ruling. If it is the case that Government object to any remarks being made on district board railways, the hon. Member from Coimbatore had better defer his remarks to another occasion. He will have another opportunity in the course of the budget discussions. "

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" I bow to your ruling, but it seems to me that district boards are under our jurisdiction, and railways are constructed by them. They have spent money upon them and they derive revenue from them. I want to know the agency of control and management with regard to district board railways, but I may leave it there, Sir, for the present. "

" Now, Sir, I come to my hon. Friend, the Law Member. He promised some months ago to issue a communiqué with regard to the state of arrears in the High Court justifying the increase in the strength of that Court, and I had hoped to see it before the budget was printed. But we see in the budget that he makes provision for two more Judges for one full year, that is, in addition to the 12 High Court Judges already existing. I have not had the pleasure of looking at that communiqué up to now, and I hope that it will be issued very soon, and that it will give a statement justifying this increase in strength. I have great respect for the hon. the Judges, but I would ask the hon. the Law Member to remember that numbers are not always synonymous with efficiency. And I want to ask the hon. the Law Member to see that they will continue to set the brilliant example they have set, of attending punctually at 11 a.m. and working continuously until 5 o'clock and not coming at odd hours of the day and thereby lowering the standard of punctuality which the High Court has set up for the past so many years. I would also appeal to him not to be—I do not say that he is—a party to the principle of Walpole being taken as the guiding principle of Government, namely, that every man has his price. I want him not to encourage the habit or custom of appointing hon. Members of this Council as public prosecutors. It is not fair to us; it is not fair to them. "

* The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Sir, normally I should not have interrupted the hon. Member but should have reserved what I had to say on this matter to my reply to be made at the conclusion of the remarks on the other side, and should have finally addressed myself to this question. But as the matter has been put in a very pointed and to a certain extent telling manner to the effect that my object, or at all events, the idea, underlying Government either consciously or unconsciously was to purchase hon. Members of this House, I think it is as well now, as a matter of personal explanation, to say that these appointments—I take it he refers to the recent appointments—of public prosecutors are made on the recommendations of the

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had in the Andamans a special officer charged with the task of seeing whether it is possible to give relief to the Mappilla prisoners by releasing them from the close prison and setting them up as self-supporters. My hon. Friend tells us that it is quite wrong for us to undertake such an operation because the Andamans are not a fit place for anyone to go to."

Mr. K. UPPI SAHIB :—" I may say in answer that my information was based upon a representation made by an Assistant Commissioner recently sent that it is a hell on earth. Since then, I do not know what a metamorphosis has taken place in the conditions there."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" I am afraid, Sir, that I prefer to 5-15 p.m. accept the evidence on this point of the Mappillas themselves, as shown by their actions. We have several hundred Mappillas in the Andamans who have expressed a desire that their wives should go there and join them. Several of these wives have been prepared to go and have gone in batches; and these women latterly have gone without any intervention from Government at all. This is quite enough evidence for me. I can quote the case of a State prisoner here whose father was in the Andamans and who actually applied for permission to join his father there, because from the accounts he recognized that he would be better off there than in jail here. I take it that my hon. Friend's argument is not that all these prisoners ought to be released. His argument is that rather than send their families to the Andamans, the prisoners ought to be kept in close prison there. The hon. Member described our policy as barbarous: I say it would be still more barbarous if, on grounds of political or other sentiment, you condemned these men to remain in close prisons and refused to them the society of their wives and the chance of being practically free men. And in spite of the comments of my hon. Friend, I maintain that what we are doing is done in the best interests of the Mappillas themselves and of the general population of Malabar."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" They may be given the option of coming to the jails here."

* The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—" No; that question does not arise; they are not going to be shut up in jail in Madras. The question is whether they are to remain in close prisons in the Andamans or should be practically released in the island to live with their families. Already there are villages composed entirely of Mappillas; they have lands given them, and we are hoping to make a grant for the purpose of providing them with cattle and agricultural implements. As matters stand, while I have no desire to force any women to join their husbands, I see no reason whatever for discouraging the movement and I can hold out no hope that Government will alter their policy on the matter."

" One suggestion which my hon. Friend has made I cannot pass over. He actually suggested that the fact that we are letting the families of these men join them means that we have some doubt whether the convicts are really guilty. The hon. Member holds apparently that if a prisoner is guilty, we have no sympathy whatever for him; he does not deserve any consideration. It is only on the ground that he may possibly be not guilty that we are prepared to give him any consideration. That is a most extraordinary idea which it should be almost unnecessary for me to repudiate. The fact of course is that we desire to extend, we do extend, precisely the same consideration

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to the prisoner whom we know to be guilty as to the one about whom we may have doubts. I should be very sorry indeed to see established the hon. Member's theory of penology.

"I do not think there are any other points to which I need refer.

(One hon. Member suggested 'district board railways'.)

"In regard to district board railways, my hon. Friend the Chief Minister has already made one statement on the subject. I am afraid I am hardly in a position, at such short notice, to give a full answer. I have suggested to my hon. Friend that he may raise the question definitely during the discussion of the budget grants."

*The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"Sir, it is very late now ; and I do not propose to detain the House longer than I need. I have come in for a good deal of criticism, but I have not to the same extent as my hon. colleagues to deal with much in the way of detail.

"It is usual, as several hon. Members have said, to begin by congratulating the Finance Member on the production of the budget ; and I thought at first that I was to be the solitary exception. I was not much perturbed because the practice is, after the congratulations, to get on to the criticisms and to pick the budget to pieces. To my surprise, however, I was the recipient of some congratulations, though with the reasons of some hon. Members for congratulating me I cannot altogether agree. But I hope it is realized that although there is nothing startling in the budget it has entailed a great deal of work for the Member in charge and still more for the Secretary and the department ; and they at all events have done their share of the work in a most thorough and efficient manner. As I said before, I can derive little satisfaction from a deficit budget. The dissatisfaction expressed by the House has not been quite so general as I expected. On the other hand, I do not think that I have had many really useful constructive suggestions as to how the deficit might have been avoided. It has been suggested from various quarters that further retrenchment was possible and ought to have been carried out. With some proposals for retrenchment, my hon. colleagues have dealt. The first I have to deal with is the suggestion that economy might have been secured by the Indianization of the services. As I pointed out in the course of the debates on Monday afternoon, a change in the composition of a service, such as would make an appreciable difference, cannot be carried out in a day, even if it is in itself desirable. Cataclysmic changes seldom work for the benefit of anybody and certainly do not tend to economy. The much-abused Lee Commission report recommends progressive Indianization and, in fact, the force of circumstances is bringing about a more rapid Indianization than has ever been contemplated in the past. I am afraid I cannot accept the statement that a too rapid change would not be accompanied by a serious loss of efficiency.

"It was next suggested that the salaries of all superior officers should be severely cut. I do not know whether the hon. Members who have made this sweeping suggestion calculated the probable effect of such a breach of faith. If the salaries of all the superior posts were cut, the first effect would be to destroy the credit of the Government and deter anybody from entering Government service who could find employment elsewhere. The public services, in fact, would get only the failures and I leave it to hon. Members to imagine what would be the effect on the administration and what satisfaction

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the public would obtain. If the suggestion were merely to give reduced rates of pay to new entrants, there might be some reason in it, but this would effect no present saving; whether in practice such action would be unduly detrimental to efficiency would depend on details. You must remember that if you want to get good service, you must offer adequate inducement in the way of pay and prospects.

"A third suggestion was that all inspecting officers should be abolished. I suppose the eventual position according to those who favour this remedy is that there shall be no one between the Government and the Executive District Officers. Apart from the huge amount of extra work that this would throw on the Government offices and the excessive centralisation which any such proposal would involve, it would have a further effect which has probably been overlooked. As it is the thirst of hon. Members for detailed information on all sorts of small matters, often of purely local interest, and the expectation which seems to grow daily that the Members of the Government should be personally acquainted with all that is going on in the Presidency and be in a position to set right every small wrong throws a great strain on Members and Ministers; and if intermediate authorities are done away with, so far from its being possible to reduce the size of the Government, it will be necessary to increase it considerably; and so far from any reduction in the emoluments of Members and Ministers being possible, it will be difficult to get men to assume the office without adding to the remuneration. In fact, I venture to prophesy that if the Board of Revenue were abolished to-morrow, it would be found necessary in a few years as a measure of economy to reconstitute it on some other similar authority. An administration cannot be run without superior inspecting officers, and though it should be our aim—and it is the aim of the Finance Department—to see that there are not too many, there is no real economy to be obtained by abolishing them altogether.

"Then it has been said that too much is spent on costly supervision and not enough on those who really do the work. I am not quite sure that I understand the implication but it seems to be that the subordinate services do the work and that the superior officers are merely excrescences. This is surely an inverted view. It is the executive officer who does, and is responsible for, the work and the subordinate staff is supplied to assist him so that it may not be necessary for him to devote his time to details which can be attended to by a cheaper and less qualified agency. If you abolish the superior officer, the staff necessarily goes too.

"Criticism has been levelled on the proportion which the cost of staff and buildings bears to the total cost of every department. There are material objects on which some departments spend money; but I would remind the House that, in general, what the tax-payer is asked to pay for is service; and service means staff and staff cannot work without buildings. While therefore an opinion that the staff in a particular department is excessive is a matter for argument and may conceivably be well founded in some cases, the fact that the cost of staff bears a large proportion to the total cost is no argument one way or the other.

"A good many members have noticed that the main feature of the budget is that it is a deficit budget. This, I must admit, is perfectly true. Whether those hon. Members are right who say that our expenditure ought to have been kept within our income is more open to question. It might

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possibly have been done, though it would have been exceedingly difficult; it would have meant not only stopping all advance, but the abandonment of schemes already initiated; and I have no doubt that a strictly balanced budget would have met with a far greater chorus of condemnation than one in which, at the expense of a deficit, some progress has been provided for. Hon. Members would have pointed to the anticipated remission of contribution and asked why, when the financial horizon was clearing, the Government had been so pedantic as not to take the fact into account. If we can look with any confidence to the remission therefore, a deficit budget was not only justified but inevitable.

“ I find also that some of the hon. Members who are especially critical of the deficit are also those who are quite sure that the remission is coming,—who say that there is no dilemma, no question between the contributions and the cotton excise—who deprecate the mention of the matter at all and talk of it as a bait—whatever that may mean. These hon. Members, Sir, cut the ground away from under their own feet. If the remission is certain there was no excuse for not budgeting against it, and they have no cause of quarrel with the Government apart from the question of details as to how the amount is to be spent.

“ With much that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said I am inclined to agree. I propose in the revised edition of the budget to show the nine and a half lakhs which we repay annually on account of the old Provincial Loan Account as a debit against revenue; and, if the remission does not materialize, as an addition to the deficit. I think we ought to have a working balance. It is needed to save us from the effects of unexpected calamities or losses of revenue. The real reasons why we have not adhered to the principle in recent years were firstly the pressure put on the Government for additional expenditure and secondly the fact that it paid us to use any money we had in hand to pay off loans borrowed at six and a half per cent.

“ I am inclined to agree that it is better not to borrow for unproductive works though I do not agree that such borrowing is in any way illegitimate and, I am afraid, that the hon. Member has misquoted the Devolution Rules. They do not contain any such provision as he seems to think that all borrowing shall be repaid by equated payments in 15 years. That is, however, the condition on which the Government of India have lent us money so far. Borrowing for unproductive works and revenue deficits, like the revenue deficits themselves, has only been countenanced because such a large proportion of what we are legitimately entitled to regard as our own resources has been taken from us as a contribution to the Government of India. It was inconceivable that this injustice should be allowed to continue indefinitely and we had the pledge of the Government of India to the contrary. The Council would have had just cause of complaint if we had restricted our expenditure always within what was left to us.

“ The hon. the Chief Minister has dealt with the demands for greater expenditure on village roads, water-supply, sanitation and so on and has pointed out that these are matters which are properly in the care of local bodies. The point I wish to notice is that one hon. Member has complained that local bodies receive less assistance now than they did before the Reforms and even that such assistance is based less on system than in those old days. I need hardly say that the very opposite is the fact. Not only do the local

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bodies receive a very much larger measure of assistance financially now than at any time in the past but that assistance has been put on a really systematic basis so that every local body should know where it stands. I must admit that the expenses of the local bodies have gone up in the same way and for much the same reasons as those of the Government and, owing to their limited powers of taxation, their revenues have not expanded proportionately. So that, under the existing circumstances, subventions of some sort from the general revenues are likely to continue. Perhaps the Taxation Enquiry Committee may find some means of readjusting taxation. It would be a great improvement if local bodies could be given resources for which they would themselves be responsible and which they would raise themselves to meet their requirements so that they would cease to depend on grants from the general revenues. No system of grants can be worked satisfactorily. Not only do they sap the independence of the local bodies and impair their sense of responsibility, but it is impossible to distribute them fairly.

"However, there can be no further distribution until there is money, and until definite schemes have been drawn up. Whether there will ever be any money must depend on what we do with any surplus with which we may be provided by the remission; and with regard to this there has been no lack of suggestions. I need hardly say that the first thing absolutely necessary is to balance the budget and to abandon the horrible practice of borrowing for the purpose of carrying on. The next, in my opinion, is to repay the money we have borrowed in the past for this horrible purpose; and if this swallows up all that is left after balancing the budget it will at least reduce our interest and other charges and this may provide us with a small working balance. That we shall need one is indicated by the latest information we have with regard to the arrack auctions this year from which it seems probable that the allowance we have made for the shrinkage of the excise revenue is insufficient.

"Several gentlemen have put before us the proposition that the remission of the contributions should be taken advantage of to rid us of our dependence on the excise revenue. My hon. Colleague has already dealt with the matter, but I should like to emphasize once more the financial point of view. It is apt to be forgotten that the abandonment of the revenue from excise is not the same as the suppression of drink. It is quite easy to say that we should not make money out of drink, and a stroke of the pen would be all that would be needed to abandon the revenue from excise. The first effect of that, however, would be to cheapen drink and make the supply free of all restrictions. If we are to rely on force to carry out the policy of prohibition we must take into account not only the direct loss of revenue which we may put at 4½ crores but also the cost of the army of preventive officers we would have to employ to see that there was no infringement of the law. That would probably cost several crores more. You cannot eradicate the taste for drink by force. It can only be done by education and it must be recognized that education is a slow process. Until the people are educated up to prohibition any law prohibiting the consumption of alcohol must be merely a costly farce.

"I wish that Dr. Matthai would intervene in our debates more frequently and give us the benefit of his wide and independent outlook on affairs. I think he has correctly diagnosed what is going to be our ultimate difficulty in the future, namely, that the division of revenue and expenditure between the Central Government and the Provincial Government has given the former all

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the growing sources of revenue and the latter all the objects which demand increased expenditure. He has rightly said that the task ahead of us is to bring about a change of attitude towards fresh taxation. I think we are always the better for his advice. He suggests a searching and public enquiry into public expenditure. I do not know whether this means that he is not satisfied with the work of the Retrenchment Committee, but I think that the enquiry made by this committee was searching and as public as is possible under the existing conditions. Here again the Taxation Enquiry Committee might devise some readjustment; but so far as Madras is concerned there is less immediate need for readjustment than for a total remission of our contributions. We have always in the past paid more than our fair share of the expenses of the Central Government; and the basis of the Meston Settlement was that the relative position of the provinces in this respect should undergo no immediate change but that the balance should be redressed as the finances of the Central Government improved. We cannot be satisfied with any readjustment not preceded by a redress of the injustice of the past. When the provinces have been brought to something like an equality of treatment, then will be the time for a common demand for a revision of the relations between all of them and the Central Government. Much is made by Bombay and some of the more favoured provinces of what they call the preferential treatment of Madras and others in the proposals for remission of contributions this year. They take care to keep in the background the fact that it is they who have received the preferential treatment and that what is happening is a tardy measure of justice. Were it not for the tragic fact that people elsewhere are too easily led to take them at their face value, the recent proceedings in the Bombay Council would be amusing. The Bombay people know perfectly well what they are doing. They are under no misapprehension, and they are great believers in the game of bluff. Here is a province with a smaller area and population than ours, with vastly greater wealth and a lighter burden of taxation, which under the Meston Settlement has to pay to the Government of India 56 lakhs against our 348 lakhs, setting up a fierce agitation because under the rules which form part of the settlement we are given a remission of about one-third of our contributions without some countervailing concession to itself. I wish I was sure that our position is quite safe, that we are certain of our contributions and that there is no more danger to them from the attacks likely to be made on the policy announced by the Government of India by the people who want the cotton excise removed. I was gratified to see in the papers a statement made by Mr. Ramachandra Rao at Delhi that our representatives are perfectly sound on the issue and that in his opinion there was no doubt that we should get our remission."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"May I know how much cotton excise this Presidency pays?"

* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—"I am afraid I cannot tell. Probably the hon. Member knows more about it than I do. I see that our representatives are considering some alternative form of taxation to be substituted for the cotton excise. I hope that every effort will be made to see that the immediate issue is not obscured by any such proposal. Let it wait till the remission of the contributions has been secured. The interests against us are continuing their exertions and are evidently determined to fight. We have had a further example in the newspapers yesterday of the lengths they are prepared to go

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to bring pressure to bear on the Government of India and the Assembly. It is propaganda pure and simple, of course, but it does make one thing clear. If the mill-owners cannot carry on under the existing circumstances without reducing the wages of their operatives by 20 per cent what chance is there that the removal of the cotton excise duty would bring about a cheapening of cloth?

"I am thankful to hon. Members who have backed my appeal but disappointed that there are several who, to all appearance, are prepared to sacrifice the interests of the Presidency to those of the mill-owners. Thanks, however, to events in Delhi rather than here and to the staunch attitude of our representatives in the Assembly. I think we can close this debate on a note of hope that the budget will turn out to be one with a surplus instead of a deficit. Having once begun, we may further hope that the Government of India will go on in the righteous work of redressing the balance between the provinces and that in the course of a very few years the iniquitous impost will be no more." (Cheers.)

II

ALLOTMENT OF DAYS FOR NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I have to announce to the House that His Excellency has allotted two days for the transaction of non-official business during this session, that is after the conclusion of the discussion on budget estimates and that the days will be, so far as I can foresee at present, the 31st March and the 1st April. The 28th of this month will be a Saturday and I think in a long sitting like this, the House would prefer to adjourn over that Saturday."

"There will be a ballot for non-official Bills and Resolutions on the 24th of which, the Secretary will give official notice in the course of a day or two."

"The House will now adjourn to meet again at 11 a.m. on 16th March 1925 for the discussion of budget demands."

The House accordingly adjourned.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.